ARMES PRYDEIN

THE PROPHECY OF BRITAIN

From the Book of Taliesin

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY

SIR IFOR WILLIAMS
D.Litt., Ll.D., F.B.A.

ENGLISH VERSION
BY
RACHEL BROMWICH

ARMES PRYDEIN

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN WELSH SERIES

Published

In preparation

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN WELSH SERIES

Volume VI

ARMES PRYDEIN
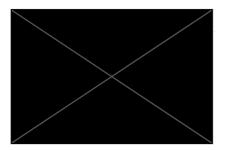
THE PROPHECY OF BRITAIN

From the Book of Taliesin

EDITED AND ANNOTATED BY

SIR IFOR WILLIAMS

D.Litt., Ll.D., F.B.A.

ENGLISH VERSION

BY

RACHEL BROMWICH

THE DUBLIN INSTITUTE FOR
ADVANCED STUDIES

1982

PREFACE

THE Welsh edition of *Armes Prydein* was published by the University of Wales Press in 1955. The text, notes, and glossary had been printed off eight years previously, but a period of illness intervened before Sir Ifor could complete the work by finishing his introductory essay. In this essay he established the poem in its historical and literary context. His interpretation of the text and his views on the historical circumstances which gave birth to 'The Prophecy of Britain' had, however, been gradually evolving in his mind over a long period. Many of the textual difficulties had already been clarified as far back as 1916, in Sir Ifor's review of J. Gwenogvryn Evans's *Poems from the Book of Taliesin* (*Y Beirniad*, vi. 207–14). In this review he stated his reasons for believing that the poem was composed 'in the late ninth century or in the beginning of the tenth at the latest': he showed that beyond doubt it is pre-Norman. In his *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry*, delivered in Dublin in 1943 under the auspices of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies (and published in 1944), he gave a more precise exposition of his ideas as to the time and place of the poem's composition, and these ideas were further developed in the Gregynog Lectures which Sir Ifor delivered at Aberystwyth in 1950.

The political background of the poem, he shows us, was that of a period of active negotiation between certain of the Celtic and Norse inhabitants of the British Isles—the Irish, the Danes of Dublin, the peoples of Wales, Scotland, Strathclyde, Cornwall, and even (in the poet's wishful thinking, at least) of Brittany over the sea—in the rising tide of opposition to the aggressive policy of Athelstan, king of England: a

policy which culminated in 937 with the destruction of the
Norse–Celtic forces at Brunanburh. Although in the event
the Welsh princes did not participate in the campaign, yet
the actual coalition between British Strathclyde, Dál Riada,
and the Danes of Dublin can hardly have been achieved with-
out intensive negotiations over a period of several previous
years. And though Brunanburh placed no more than a
temporary check to resistance from some of these peoples,
yet it seems impossible to believe that such an all-inclusive
pan-Celtic alliance could have even been contemplated at a
later date than the date of Brunanburh. The turbulent events
of Athelstan's reign—some time between 927 and 937—
remain in the end the only credible historical milieu for the
poem. The oppressive tribute which Athelstan imposed upon
the Welsh princes when he made the Wye their frontier pro-
vides the background for the repeated allusions to the belli-
gerent requital by the Welsh of the English *tretheu* or taxes,
and Sir Ifor showed that it is Athelstan himself who is alluded
to satirically as *mechteyrn*, 'Great King' or 'Overlord'. Lin-
guistic and metrical considerations reinforce the editor's
conclusions as to the poem's pre-Conquest date. Thus it was
that in his Dublin *Lectures* Sir Ifor described the Prophecy
both as 'a historic document' and as 'most valuable to the
student of Welsh literature'. Since the historical evidence
(presented later in full by Sir Ifor in his 1955 introduction to
the poem) enabled him to date it with confidence to a period
within the ten years previous to the Battle of Brunanburh, he
felt able to assert with equal confidence in the *Lectures* that
'we can now use it as evidence of Welsh poetic diction and
prosody about 900 to 930. With it we can compare the slightly
earlier Juvencus poetry, the Llywarch Hen poetry, and last,
but not least, the rest of the poetry ascribed to Taliesin and
Aneirin.' One may add that the poem is the first of a long
succession of political prophecies in Welsh verse, whose

framework and allusions it helps to account for and to
elucidate.[1]

I can myself testify that much of Sir Ifor's interpretation
of the poem's significance was already complete in his mind in
the late 1930s, when I had the privilege of being one of his
students in Bangor with whom he read and discussed the
text in class. The translation which I have offered here, though
it is based primarily on Sir Ifor's published notes, owes much
of its actual wording in English to the translation which I
took down at that time from his own lips. I have included this
translation principally for the sake of those whose main interest
in the *Armes* is as a historical document. Students of the
original text are reminded that many of the English renderings
which I have advocated tentatively for individual passages
will be found more fully discussed in the notes which follow
the poem.

In translating Sir Ifor's introduction I have at times para-
phrased or slightly expanded the wording of the original, both
in the interests of clarity, and in conformity with normal
English modes of expression, but my aim has been to do this
without detriment to Sir Ifor's meaning. In those instances in
which I have made additions to Sir Ifor's text by introducing
comments of my own, by making suggestions as to the inter-
pretation of certain passages, or by quoting suggestions made
to me by others, I have in each case placed such additions
within square brackets, except only that I have freely supple-
mented the older grammatical references by references to
D. Simon Evans's *Grammar of Middle Welsh* (GMW), since
this is now the standard grammar of the older language, and is

[1] See R. Wallis Evans, 'Trem ar y Cywydd Brud', *Harlech Studies*
ed. B. B. Thomas (Univ. Wales Press, 1939), 149 ff.; Glanmor
Williams, 'Proffwydoliaeth, Prydyddiaeth a Pholitics yn yr Oesoedd
Canol', *Taliesin*, 16. 31 ff., and for an older and more general account,
W. Garmon Jones, 'Welsh Nationalism and Henry Tudor', Cymmr.
Trans., 1917–18, 1 ff.

the one most readily accessible to students. I have added
certain references to work which has been published sub-
sequently to 1955, and I have also supplied cross-references
between the notes and the introduction, which the circum-
stances of its composition rendered impracticable in the case
of the earlier edition.

Since in his notes to the text Sir Ifor assembled for reference,
according to his custom, the complete *corpus* of lexicographical
data on which his interpretation of a particular line was based,
I have been reluctant to condense these notes, even when
much of the material has since been collected in J. Lloyd-
Jones's *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg*, and in
Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru. In a number of instances, how-
ever, it will be found that I have transferred to the vocabulary
words which present no special difficulty in themselves, and
upon which Sir Ifor only commented very briefly in his
notes. The vocabulary supplements the brief glossary given
in the earlier edition, and it aims at completeness.

I wish to record my gratitude to Professor Idris Foster and
to Professor Proinsias Mac Cana, both of whom read through
my typescript and made a number of valuable suggestions; and
also to Professor J. E. Caerwyn Williams, who read a proof, and
proposed certain further improvements. I am indebted to the
University of Wales Press Board for giving permission for
the publication of this translation of *Armes Prydein*, and to the
Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies for inviting me to pre-
pare the work, and for undertaking its publication. Lastly, I
would wish to record my thanks to the staff and printers of
the Oxford University Press, for the skill and care which
they have given to the book's producton.

<div align="right">RACHEL BROMWICH</div>

Tyddyn Sabel, Bethesda
University College, Cambridge
August 1971

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Armes Prydein is a prophecy: the poet's concern is with the future, and not with past events. As in other poems of the kind in Welsh, the poet's intention is to encourage his countrymen to endure the tribulations of the present, by holding out to them the prospect of future triumph over their oppressors. The usual theme is to recall the nation's ancient glory, to exult in the memory of the heroes of former days; and then, taking heart from these recollections, to assert that a better state of affairs is just round the corner—a day of bloody vengeance on the enemy and of complete and final victory for the Welsh. In this poem, as in other early prophecies, the leaders of the unconquerable armies of Wales will be Cynan and Cadwaladr. Later on the promised deliverer becomes Owain Lawgoch, and in the end Owain is in his turn superseded in folk-lore by Arthur the Great.[1] It seems that Gwynedd possessed her own deliverer, Hiriell: for Môn and Arfon are called 'the land of Hiriell'—in them are to be found 'Hiriell's offspring'—and on a certain Tuesday, so the poet prophesies, there will be a battle between Powys and Gwynedd, and Hiriell will arise 'from his long repose' to defend his land: as though he, like Arthur, had gone to sleep in a cave until the day should dawn when his people would feel the greatest need of him.[2] Evidently Hiriell was a local hero—no memory of him has survived except his name. In this poem, on the other hand, we have the Prophecy of Britain *as a whole*, and therefore it is necessary that the traditional heroes of the whole nation, Cynan and Cadwaladr, should be described as the leaders.

---

[1] For a full discussion see M. E. Griffiths, *Early Vaticination in Welsh* (Cardiff, 1937).   [2] BBC 57. 5; B iii. 50–2.

I. *The Date of the Poem*

Armes Prydein is to be found on pp. 13–18 of the *Book of Taliesin*, a manuscript which has been dated by Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans to *c.* 1275.[1] The actual date of the poem's composition must be determined from the historical allusions which are to be found in it. Here is a brief synopsis of the poem's contents:

After an intentionally obscure introduction about the reconciliation of the Welsh with the men of Dublin, and an allusion to the agreement between the Welsh, the Irish of Ireland, and the men of Cornwall and Strathclyde, reference is made to the 'stewards' (*meiryon*) of a certain 'Great King' (*mechteyrn*) collecting heavy taxes from the Welsh; to the insufferable boasting of the Saxons, the offspring of Hengist and Horsa—those 'scavengers (*cechmyn*) of Thanet'—who came here in poverty, possessing no land, but who are now bent on exterminating the Britons and appropriating their country. The armies of the Welsh and of the Saxons will meet on the banks of the river Wye; there will be a great slaughter of the 'stewards' and of their army in Aber Peryddon. The Welsh of the South will refuse to pay the tax that is demanded from them. Cynan and Cadwaladr will drive the foreigners before them in headlong flight to Winchester. The enemy are called the *Iwys*. In the battle the corpses will be so numerous that there will be no space for them to fall down. The banner of St. David will lead the Irish to fight on our side; and the 'tribes of Dublin' (i.e. the Danes) and the brave warriors from Strathclyde and from Brittany will all do so likewise. Disgrace and death will come to the Saxons; fame beyond measure to Cynan and Cadwaladr; they will possess everything from Manaw Gododdin (the district surrounding Edinburgh) to Brittany, from Dyfed to Thanet. Then the *Iwys*, the 'foreigners' (*allmyn*), and the Saxons will make for their ships in the port of Sandwich, and set out once more in exile, to wander the seas without finding any place where they may settle. Let no one seek for any other Prophecy

[1] [More recently, N. Denholm-Young has given reasons for dating BT to the second quarter (?) of the fourteenth century, *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff, 1954), p. 44.]

but this concerning this Island! Let David be the leader of our warriors! In this crisis a haven is to be found in Gelli Gaer,[1] and God is constant and unchanging.

That is the poet's dream. Is there any way to discover the appropriate background to these hopes and fears? I believe there is.

To begin with, the *Armes* must of necessity be dated *before* the coming of the Normans in 1066, because what purpose would there be in dreaming of getting rid of the Saxons from Britain if the Normans were still left in possession? There is no mention of the Normans at all. The 'foreigners' (*allmyn*) are the Saxons, the strangers who came here with Hengist and Horsa. The poet knew of the work of Nennius (about 800), and he alludes to the tradition in his *Historia Brittonum* that the Saxons were exiles from their country. *Nis dioes daear*, 'they have no land'. On their arrival in the river-mouths, they did not know where to wander (ll. 29–30). After they had bought Thanet, Hengist and Horsa had a rather lean time of it (l. 32). It was at the cost of the Welsh that they achieved success. Being without nobility or hereditary right, it was through stealthy assassination that these slaves managed to snatch the crown of the Island. *Gwedy rin dilein keith y mynuer*, 'after the secret slaughter, slaves now wear a crown' (l. 34).

Amongst the allies of the Welsh the men of Dublin and the Irish of Ireland are named (ll. 9–10); in another place, the foreigners of Dublin and the Irish (ll. 130–1). The period when such a distinction would have been made between the inhabitants of Dublin and the rest of Ireland was after the middle of the ninth century, when the Scandinavians had established themselves in Dublin, and had maintained themselves there for a considerable while. Dublin was taken by the Norsemen in 837 or 838; they erected a fortress there in 841–2 (Todd, *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. liii). The Danes came there

[1] [But see note to l. 197].

in 852 and captured the fortress from them (ibid., p. lxii; Arthur Jones, *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*, pp. 101, 161). After this date, some time in the second half of the ninth century, therefore, it is possible to speak of the 'men of Dublin' as constituting a separate people from the Irish themselves. In the version of *Brut y Tywysogion* contained in the Red Book of Hergest there is a note 'Ac y diffeithwyt Iwerdon a Mon y gan *bobyl Dulyn*', 'Ireland and Anglesey were destroyed by *the people of Dublin*—in A.D. 918 (RBB 261)'. This passage provides evidence that they were so described at that date. It is not possible, therefore, for the *Armes* to be older than 852, but it could belong to the beginning of the tenth century.[1]

This gives us *c.* 900 as a possible indication for its date. Such a suggestion is supported by the archaic name that is used for south Wales. The poet was a man of the south, and the Welsh of the south are nearest to his heart. This is seen in l. 99: 'Na chrynet Dyfet na *Glywyssy(n)g*', 'Let neither Dyfet nor *Glywyssyng* tremble', and l. 77: 'Gwŷr Deheu eu tretheu a amygant', 'The men of the South will fight for their taxes'. According to Sir John Lloyd (HW 273–5) *Glywysing* meant originally the district between the Tawy and the Usk; but he says that Meurig ap Tewdrig, about 630, was lord of Gwent as well, so that his territory reached from the Tawy to the Wye; afterwards the boundaries of Glywysing varied, he says, in the eighth and ninth centuries. According to Phillimore (Owen, *Pemb.* i. 208) before about A.D. 1000 the name *Glywy-sing* was always used to mean Morgannwg, including Gower but not Gwent. This is what we find in Asser (*De Rebus Gestis Alfredi*, c. 80): he speaks of Hywel ap Rhys as *rex Gleguising*, but of Brochfael and Ffyrnfael sons of Meurig as *reges Gwent*. In any case, Dyfed and Glywysing represent for this poet the whole of south Wales. The *Armes* keeps the name for

[1] This was my argument in *Y Beirniad*, vi. 208, 212 (1916).

Morgannwg that was used by Nennius about 800 and by Asser at the end of the century.[1]

The *Armes* also uses an old name for the men of Wessex (the enemy)—*Iwys* (108), *Iwis* (181). Asser gives the name *Geuuis* as that of one of Alfred's early ancestors, and he adds 'from him the Britons call the whole of that nation the *Geguuis*'.[2] So also Bede (*Hist. Ecc.* iii. 7): 'gens occidentalium Saxonum qui antiquitus *Geuissae* vocabantur'. Stevenson says that the meaning of the first quotation is 'that the West Saxons, who even in Bede's time had ceased to be called *Gewisse*, were still known to the Britons by this name'. As the Welsh form shows, *g* in Anglo-Saxon was pronounced like *i* before a palatal vowel; and Stevenson found an example of this name as *Iewisse* in a charter of the end of the tenth century. The orthography of Old Welsh is responsible for the second *g* in *Geguuis*: *w* can be either vocalic or consonantal, and at that period *gu* was written to denote the latter value. Thus in a manuscript written in 820, *petguar* is found for *pedwar*, *eguin* for *ewin*, and Asser gives *Degui* for *Dewi*. *Glywysing* has already been mentioned: in two early manuscripts of Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* (ch. 41) *Gleguissing* is given for it; Asser gives *Gleguising*. He means by it the people or territory of *Glywys*; in an inscription which was found at Ogmore Castle, Glamorgan,[3] we find the form *Gliguis* for a saint of this name.

In addition to this text, '*Iwys*' is used for the men of Wessex

[1] Cf. AC 864, Duta uastauit *gliuisigng* (= *Gliguising*).

[2] Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (1904); second edn., ed. D. Whitelock, 1959; p. 2: qui fuit *Geuuis*, a quo Britones totam illam gentem *Geguuis* nominant; see also note, pp. 161–2. [See K. Sisam, 'Anglo-Saxon Royal Genealogies', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxix (1953), 303. Dr. Sisam regards Asser's king *Geuuis* as an eponymous figure who owes his existence solely to the tribal name.]

[3] *Arch. Camb.* 1932, p. 232. [See also V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), pp. 41, 160. The same name may occur as *Gliuissi* on an inscription at Merthyr Mawr, ibid., pp. 40, 154.]

in the *Brut* which has been preserved in the Red Book of Hergest (RBB 260); under 900 there is a reference to the death of 'Alvryt urenhin *Iwys*' ('Alfred King of the *Iwys*'); in the oldest copy of the *Annales Cambriae*, 1100, we find the same entry in an older orthography 'Albrit rex *giuoys* moritur'.[1] In one of the old prophetic poems there are named 'Eigil *ywuys* lloegruis keint' (= the Angles, the Iwwys, the men of Lloegr and of Kent). The orthography of the poem is in favour of a date for the original from which it was copied of the same age as the Black Book of Carmarthen; and the original prototype can be taken back into the Old Welsh period.[2] Yet another example comes from the *awdl* to St. David by Gwynfardd Brycheiniog in the Hendregadredd manuscript, p. 205: 'seint lloegrwys ac *iwys* a seint y goclet' ('the saints of Lloegr and *Iwys* and the saints of the North'). In his elegy to Madog ap Maredudd in 1160 (H 28), the poet Gwalchmai shows how the name was pronounced by contemporary Welsh poets: he rhymes *Iwys* with *eglwys*, *garawys*, *cynnwys*, and the like; therefore it was as *I-ŵys* that the word was pronounced at that time. This may have been by analogy with such Welsh names as *Cludŵys*, *Gwennŵys*, and in particular *Lloegrŵys*.[3]

In his *Last Essays* (edn. of 1950), G. M. Young quotes a letter from Daniel, Bishop of Winchester, to Bede, in which he says 'that apart from the South Saxons, of whom he has taken temporary charge, he has under his care the Jutes in the South of Hampshire who "belong to the region of the *Gewissas*". That the Gewissas are the predominant partner appears from the fact that "Bishop of the Gewissas" is the style often borne

---

[1] Cy. ix. 167. Perhaps it is a copyist's error for *giuuis*; perhaps -*oys*, -*ois* is a variant of -*wis*, -*wys*.   [2] B iv. 45.

[3] -*wys* in these names comes from the Latin -*ēnsis* and its plural -*ēnses* (cf. CLIH 129; WG 46). Both give -*ŵys*, and therefore -*ion* became attached to express the plural without ambiguity, cf. *Monwysion*. [For a further discussion of the origin of the names *Gewissi*, *Iwys*, see M. Gwyn Jenkins, 'Gevissae ac Iwis: Dwy Ddrychiolaeth', B xx. 1–11.]

by the bishop of Winchester. Who, then, are the Gewissas? The answer is, first, that they are the Royal Tribe, the King's own people, because the name Gewis occurs in the royal pedigree.' It was of no importance to Young whether Gewis was a real ancestor or a legendary figure. 'But presumably if the King lived at Wilton his people lived round him. And when we examine our earliest surviving documents we find evidence that the people round Wilton are in many ways a race apart, distinguishable not only from the Jutes of Hampshire . . . but from the Saxons of the Thames valley, and even of North Wiltshire.'

This seems to me very like the way the Sons of Cunedda are referred to in Wales, the *Cynferchin*(*g*) in North Britain, and the *Cyndrwynin*(*g*) around Shrewsbury—the royal tribe receiving titular precedence and honour. *Ðunoding* became the name of a district (cf. *Seisyllwch* and *Morgannwg*) and *Glywysing*, as we saw, that of a region.

The reference to the *mechteyrn* in the Prophecy is still more important for the problem of the poem's date. I have given my arguments for interpreting it as 'great king' in B x. 39–40. In BT 54. 14 God is called the 'mechteyrn' of the world (see also 41. 4). Who would be known as the 'great king' amongst the *Iwys*? Without doubt the allusion must be to Athelstan. According to Stenton[1] 'In his royal title he sometimes claimed authority over the whole of Britain. He appears as king of all Britain on one of his coins; and in many of his charters he is described as "King of the English and ruler of all Britain".' In his charters there are found such titles as *monarchus*, *basileus*, *imperator*. What wonder that the poet should use the term *mechteyrn* in reference to such a ruler? What wonder that the Welsh should be almost overcome with rage at seeing their former 'slaves' wearing the *mynfer*, or crown, so arrogantly, and at seeing the original possessors of the soil made landless because 'foreigners' were establishing themselves in

---

[1] *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943), p. 345.

their place? It was a deathly blow to their national pride. May the Trinity prevent it! Captives to be crowned! And yet, that is what happened. 'And thus,' says *Brut y Brenhinedd* about the Saxons, 'after casting off the lordship of the Britons from them, they thereupon ruled all England with *Edelstan* (= Athelstan) as their prince, who first of the English wore the Crown of the Island of Britain' (see RBB 255).

Professor Stenton emphasizes the fact that the councils held by this king were of a new kind.[1] 'Under Athelstan a new kind of assembly appears, in which, even for ordinary business, the bishops, ealdormen, and thegns of Wessex were combined with magnates, lay and ecclesiastical, from every part of the land.' The *Armes* alludes to these councils (ll. 107–9):

> Dysgogan awen dydaw y dyd.
> pan dyffo Iwys y vn gwssyl.
> Vn cor vn gyghor a Lloegyr lloscit.

'The *awen* foretells the day will come when the men of Wessex will come together in council, in a single party, of one mind with the incendiaries of Lloegr.'

The *Iwys* will join in a coalition with the men of Lloegr to plot our destruction, the poem says; that is, Wessex will join with Mercia: and thus in fact it came about under Athelstan, king of Wessex, who was also recognized as king of Mercia—a new event in history.[2]

By reason of this alliance, the king of Wessex and Mercia was in a better position to oppose the Scandinavians who had established themselves in York: in 927 Athelstan received homage from the king of Scotland and the king of Strathclyde, and took possession of York. About this time[3] Athelstan forced the Welsh princes to meet him at Hereford, and obliged

[1] Ibid. 347.

[2] Ibid. 335. [On the use of *Lloegr* with primary reference to Mercia, see p. 50 below, n. to l. 109.]

[3] In 926 or 927, according to HW 335. 'Within the next four years' is Stenton's opinion. The story is given by William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, i. 148.

them to make submission and to agree to pay him a yearly tribute, 'a thing which no previous king had even dared to think of'—twenty pounds in gold and three hundred pounds in silver; 25,000 cattle, with as many hounds and hawks for hunting as he might wish; and he set the Wye in the place of the Severn as a boundary to Wales in the south. These figures almost border on the impossible—though not absolutely, in the opinion of Stenton. If the historian expresses surprise at the size of the tribute, one can imagine what would be the effect on those who were expected to pay it. I think that it is to this the Prophecy refers, not once but repeatedly, and with increasing anger. The overseers or stewards of the 'Great King' are coming to collect their taxes, but the Welsh are determined not to pay them (ll. 21–4); terrible will be the taxes they will collect (l. 72); the men of south Wales will fight for their taxes (l. 78); death will be the fate of the stewards, the end of their taxes will be that they will know death (l. 84); they will never round up their tribute of cattle (l. 86); the tribute will be avenged when their corpses are so thickly packed on the battlefield that they have no room to fall (ll. 122–3). From all this we gather that the tribute was thoroughly unpopular!

But there is more here than an angry protest against oppressive taxation. Conflict on all sides between the Welsh and the English is foretold, and on both banks of the river Wye (l. 58). The new boundary was not acceptable either. Perhaps it is to the greed of the Saxons in this matter that allusion is made in l. 53, 'they perform shameful acts for want of a patrimony', that is, for want of a place to live. Sir John Lloyd believes that already in the seventh century the Wye was a boundary between the two nations for a considerable distance up from its mouth.[1]

[1] HW 274. Tewdrig was slain on the ford of Din-dyrn on the Wye before 630.

To conclude: the Prophecy was composed before the coming of the Normans; some time after the settlement of the Norsemen in Dublin in the middle of the ninth century; the author uses the name Glywysing, which was used at that time for a kingdom which included Gower as well as Morgannwg, and he calls the men of Wessex by the old name of Iwys; he calls their king, perhaps sarcastically, the 'Mechteyrn' or 'Great King'. In 925 Athelstan came to the throne, and he exulted in the most boastful of royal titles (*monarchus*, *imperator*, and *basileus*—the Greek word for king), claiming to wear the crown of the Island of Britain, since he had ruled directly over Wessex and Mercia from the beginning of his reign, and had won Danish York soon afterwards by conquest; while his supremacy was recognized in Strathclyde and in Scotland, as well as in Wales. His claim to allegiance from the Welsh took the form of exacting an oppressive tribute from them: in the south he set the Wye as a boundary. He subdued an insurrection in Cornwall immediately afterwards, expelling the Britons from Exeter, and setting the river Tamar as their boundary henceforth.

It is Athelstan who is to be identified with the 'Great King' of the Armes. Unfortunately the historians are not able to give an exact date for the council at Hereford; only that it was some time between 927 and 930. In the poem we do not find a complaint about an ancient wound, but a reaction to the insupportable torment of a new one. Therefore, it seems to me, we must date the *Armes* 'about 930'.[1]

[1] In 1894 thirteen English and oriental coins were dug up in a garden behind a house which is now the Midland Bank, High Street, Bangor. One of them bears the inscription of *Sihtric Gale*, of Northumbria, 925-7; another was minted in York, St. Peter's coinage, 925; another by Edward the Elder, 901-25; and five from the East were minted in Samarkand, Turkestan, to the east of the Caspian, in 902-9. They are now preserved in the Museum of the University College of North Wales, Bangor. It is thought that their owner was a Viking, since the Scandinavians traded with the East: in the purse

11. *The Battle of Brunanburh*

This belief gains support from another consideration. The poet prophesies an extended alliance against the 'Great King'. The Welsh will get support from various countries (*llwyth lliaws gwlat*, l. 128) against the oppressor, and with the help of these he believes confidently that they will be able to drive the English to the sea, and regain the 'Monarchy' (*unbeiniaeth*) of Britain for its old rightful possessors.

He foretells that an army from Cornwall will be fighting on the side of the Welsh. In 930 this seemed very probable—there was the old bond of blood and of language, as well as the new one of mutual fear under the oppression of Athelstan. He expected the help of other fellow Britons—from the old northern British kingdoms, Strathclyde and Rheged, the home of the heroes of former days in song and in story, such as Taliesin's patron Urien Rheged, and others like him. Was it not fortunate to have gained a temporary alliance with the Danes, who had recently lost their kingdom in the North, and seen the destruction of their chief citadel, York? They had fellow-countrymen in Dublin, and these possessed a powerful fleet, and an army long accustomed to fighting: without doubt they would obtain generous support from their kinsmen with which to retaliate. And, indeed, the poet foretells that the Welsh will also come to terms with the men of Dublin. After these there will come troops of the Irish of Ireland, *Gwŷr gwychyr gwallt hiryon ergyr dofyd* 'valiant long-haired warriors skilled in blows' (l. 147), and the Irish

of one of these Vikings one would expect to find just such a mixture of coins as this. Notice the dates: they were lost about 927. May they not therefore perhaps have been in the possession of one of the Scandinavian envoys, who had come to Bangor to try to persuade the king of Gwynedd to join in the war against Athelstan? Mr. Ralegh Radford agrees with the suggestion. [For illustrations and descriptions of the coins, see V. E. Nash-Williams, *A Hundred Years of Welsh Archaeology*, pp. 118–22.]

of 'Prydyn' (i.e. Pictland, but here meaning the Irish who had settled in Scotland). Added to them there will be an innumerable host of Welshmen, the armies of Cadwaladr and Cynan:

> Llym llifeit llafnawr llwyr y lladant   (l. 79)
> ('With keen whetted blades they will strike thoroughly').

But it is difficult to understand how the poet felt able to list the Bretons as well in his prophesied army:

> Dybi o Lydaw prydaw gyweithyd
> ketwyr y ar katueirch   (ll. 153–4)
> ('There will come from Brittany a brave company,
> Warriors on war-horses . . .').

They were related to the Welsh by blood and language, certainly; but it was altogether unlikely that they would join in the war, since Athelstan had shown more kindness to the Bretons than to any other section of the surviving Britons. In 919 an army of Scandinavians had attacked Brittany, and many Bretons had fled for protection to England. Amongst them was Alan (grandson of Alan the Great, the last ruler of the whole of Brittany). Perhaps he was born in England, says Stenton;[1] in any case he was baptized there, and Athelstan was godfather to him, and his protector ever afterwards. The Bretons rose up against their oppressors, and Alan joined in the battle: when the attempt failed disastrously, he returned to England in 931. In 936, with the help of Athelstan, he brought many of his fellow-exiles back to their country, and re-established himself in his family's old patrimony. It is only fair to conclude that the conditions in Brittany were not such as to lead to any confident expectation that the Bretons would

---

[1] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 343. [On the poet's attitude to the Bretons, see note to l. 182 below. If my proposed interpretation of this line be accepted, the allusions in the poem to Brittany would suit the circumstances of Anglo-Breton relations both before and after 931. On Alan Barbetorte, see E. Durtelle de Saint-Sauveur, *Histoire de Bretagne*, i. 81–2, 101 ff.]

join in a war against Athelstan. This also, for what it is worth, supports the suggested date of about 930 for the period when the *Armes* was composed.

With this exception, the poet's forecasts as to what might happen were extremely probable. In 934 Athelstan attacked Scotland by land and sea, but without bringing the Scots to open battle with him. In 937 Olaf from Dublin, the king of Scotland, and the king of Strathclyde united their forces and attacked him. After a long and hard battle at a place called Brunanburh (*Brune* in the *Annales Cambriae*; *ryfel brun* in RBB 261 = Br. Tywys. 12), they lost the day completely; their armies scattered, leaving five kings, seven earls from Ireland, and the son of the king of Scotland, dead on the field. Athelstan won a great victory over all his enemies.[1] He had justified his claim to be called a *Mechteyrn*.

But the victory cost him dearly in men. It is easy to believe that the forces of Wales could have turned the balance; Brittany was in enough domestic trouble of its own, and Cornwall had only recently experienced defeat in a war against Athelstan. But what about the Welsh? Where was Gwynedd? Her king at the time was Idwal Foel, son of Anarawd—and it is said that he was accustomed to frequent the 'councils' of Athelstan. What about Dyfed and Glywysing? Hywel the Good was in authority there, and he was above all the lesser Welsh kings in his fidelity to these 'councils', and in his loyalty to the king of England. It is best to quote Sir John Lloyd's words on the subject: 'All that is known of Hywel points him out as a warm admirer, not only of Alfred, but also of English civilization: he led no expedition across the border, but instead secured to Athelstan the faithful allegiance

---

[1] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 338. In a manuscript of the tenth century there are to be found six four-lined stanzas in Latin celebrating the victory; Du Meril, *Poésies populaires latines*, 1843, 270–1. There is also a contemporary Anglo-Saxon poem; see A. Campbell, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, 1938.

of his brother chiefs, even in that year of rebellion, when the league against Wessex included the Scots, the Danes, and the Strathclyde Britons, and only the southern Britons held aloof.'[1]

Very little is known of Idwal, except this: on the death of Athelstan he rose up in rebellion against the English, and he was slain (in 942). In the normal way, his sons Iago and Idwal would have inherited Gwynedd after him. But Hywel the Good came from the south (he was a grandson of Rhodri Mawr) and drove them out, and conquered Gwynedd (and Powys, in all probability) for himself, until he was ruler over very nearly the whole of Wales; and that, of course, as sub-king under the king of England.

However that may be, after the Welsh had lost their unparalleled opportunity to join against Athelstan, and had seen the tragic overthrow of the strongest members of any possible coalition against him at the Battle of Brunanburh, can one believe it possible that any Welshman would have had the heart to compose 'The Prophecy of Britain'? The poem must therefore be dated before 937.

III. *The Poet*

Whoever the poet was, it is difficult to believe that he had not heard that there was such an alliance as this afoot. It would be hardly possible to prepare for so important an expedition without a great deal of consultation, and sending envoys from one member to another. It would be necessary to collect together an army and a fleet on a considerable scale for an expedition such as that of 937, and there was no way of doing that in complete secrecy. The most likely place to hear news of these preparations was in a monastery. It is known that there were intimate relations between the monasteries of south Wales and of Ireland: St. David's in particular was

[1] HW 336.

accustomed to welcoming Irish scholars on their way to England and the Continent. To pay for their welcome, they would recount the 'latest news' to their hosts. If the king of the Danes was collecting together a royal fleet in Dublin and the other Irish ports, one would expect these wandering monks to know about it, and to have their own ideas about the purpose for which the expedition was intended. And the news would travel from monastery to monastery. This suggests that the poet was not only a man of south Wales, but that he was a member of a monastic community. I believe that there are a number of allusions in the Prophecy which support this theory.

He alludes to the Trinity (*trindaurt*, ll. 41, 98), to the Son of Mary (*Mab Meir*, ll. 25, 45); the warriors dedicate themselves to God and to Dewi (l. 51); the banner of Dewi will be raised in front of the army (l. 129); he prays 'May Dewi be the leader of our warriors' (l. 196); the privileges of our saints are being trodden under foot, especially 'the rights of Dewi' (*reitheu Dewi*, ll. 139–40); victory will be won through the intercession of Dewi and the saints of Britain (l. 105); they are fighting on the side of God (*o pleit Dofyd*, l. 166); God's princes have kept their faith (*a theyrned Dews rygedwys eu ffyd*, l. 180); in difficulties Gelli Gaer[1] stands on the side of God; and the poem ends with praise to the eternal Lord, for ever One and unchanging.

It is not too daring to suppose, therefore, that this poet had something to do with the Church, and that his home was in the neighbourhood of Gelli Gaer. He was not a professional poet, or he would not speak so contemptuously of the 'greedy poets'—poets who were miserly and avid for payment (cf. *agawr brydyd*, l. 193). Presumably he meant his allusion to strike home among the professional poets of his day.

In the same breath he mentions someone else whom the Welsh are not to seek out nor to listen to—the *llyfrawr*—

[1 See note to l. 197 below.]

a word which Professor Thomas Jones has shown to be a borrowing from the Latin *librarius*.[1] Usually it means 'a scribe or keeper of books', but he has found good examples of it with the meaning 'a sorcerer, a magician', who prophesied events that were to come—and demanded payment for his work. That is certainly a suitable meaning for the word in the text, where instructons are given that no one is to seek a *llyfrawr* or a greedy poet (*angawr brydydd*) in order to obtain knowledge as to the future. The only true forecast about the fate of this Island is that of the Prophecy!

If the poet was a monk of south Wales, about 930, he must have been a subject of Hywel the Good, and at the same time a fierce and fiery opponent of his policy of recognizing the supremacy of the king of England, of living in peace with the English, and of paying tribute to the *Iwys*. He is the spokesman of the nationalist opposition. He shows what the spirit was that was rife among the churchmen of the period: among the men who could read Latin; and he used the customary method employed by Welsh poets to incite both the leaders and the rank and file to go to war with the traditional enemy—that is, he composed a prophecy. His urgent and fiery poem bears witness to his enthusiastic spirit as a Welshman, and to the bitterness of his disappointment in his king.

IV. *Asser*

We can estimate the strength of the anti-English feeling from Asser's *Life of Alfred*, written a generation earlier. It is clear that the same feelings and ideas were rife at that time,

[1] B xi. 137–8. [The equation between these terms had previously been pointed out briefly by A. W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Christian Origins* (Oxford, 1934), p. 209.] Cf. also BT I. 17: 'neu leu a gwydyon. a uuant *geluydyon*, neu a wdant *lyfyryon*.' 'Do Lleu and Gwydion (who were skilful enchanters) know, or do *llyfyrion* know, what they will do when night and storm come?' I believe that we have here the plural of *llyfrawr*: *llyfrorion* (cf. cerdd*orion*), and not a form of the plural of *llyfwr*, *llwfr* 'coward'.

and it was in order to counter them, I think, that this book was composed in the particular way that it was. Asser was a monk of St. David's, and a Welshman, in spite of his biblical name, which is paralleled in that of many another Welshman. Stevenson is in considerable perplexity concerning the derivation of the name Asser (see p. lxx of his book); he says that there are examples of it in Wales but not in England, and yet it is not of Celtic derivation! The explanation is found in Genesis 30, 13: As(h)er was son of Jacob by Leah; cf. the index to the Book of Llan Dâv, which lists a number of other Welshmen who bear such names as Abraham, Daniel, Dafydd or Dewi, Iago (Jacob), Isaac, Ismael, Samson, Salomon or Selyf. Alfred invited Asser to his court, in order to obtain his help in teaching his people; he became fond of him, and after a while made him Bishop of Sherborne. In 893, a little before the death of Alfred (?899), Asser wrote a biography of him, 'one of the most important and at the same time most difficult of the sources of our early history', said Stevenson.[1]

I will only mention two of the difficulties relating to this interesting and difficult book. This is the first. Asser writes in Latin, and yet, time after time, after naming a place in England, he explains the name in Welsh, or else he gives the Welsh name and then explains it in Latin. Like this:

> Cap. 30. The Danes came to Snotengaham,
> 'quod Britannice "Tig guocobauc" interpretatur,
> Latine autem "speluncarum domus".'

The place is Nottingham, its Welsh name is *tig guocobauc*, and this is explained by the Latin phrase 'house of caves'. Even today, these caves in the rock are one of the oldest and most famous wonders of Nottingham.

> Cap. 49. 'Exanceastre (Exeter); Britannice autem *Cairuuisc*' (the Welsh name means 'the fortress on the river Exe').

[1] W. H. Stevenson, *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (Oxford, 1904), second edn., ed. D. Whitelock, 1959, p. xi.

Cap. 52. 'Cippanham (Chippenham) . . . in orientali ripa fluminis, quod Britannice dicitur *Abon*' (i.e. *afon* 'river').

Cap. 55. 'Saltus qui dicitur Seluudu (Selwood), Latine autem "sylva magna", Britannice *Coet Maur*' (Coed Mawr 'Great Wood').

Cap. 57. Cirrenceastre (Cirencester), quae Britannice *Cairceri* nominatur. (Notice that *Kaer Geri* occurs also in l. 69 of the Prophecy, where the lenition is shown after *caer*, a feminine noun.)

There is another interesting example in chapter 49. 'Werham (Wareham) . . . inter duo flumina *Frauu* (et Terente) et in paga quae dicitur Britannice *Durngueir*, Saxonice autem Thornsaeta (Dorset)'; cf. Stevenson (pp. 247–50). *Durnovaria* was the form in the second century, which gave *Durngueir* in Asser (and *Dyrnwair* in later orthography).[1] This element survives in *Dorchester* and *Dorset*.

The first problem is, why did Asser translate the English names, and leave the Welsh place-names without explanation? Surely, as certain historians have suggested, because he was writing his book for the Welsh, and not for the English.

This becomes even more clear in chapter 80.

At that time and for a long time before, all the districts of southern *Britannia* (that is, Wales) belonged to Alfred the King, and they still belong to him: that is to say Hyfaidd, together with all the inhabitants of Dyfed, submitted to his royal authority, because of the oppression of the six sons of Rhodri (that is, the men of Gwynedd). Also Hywel, son of Rhys, king of Glywysing, and Brochfael and Ffyrnfael, sons of Meurig, kings of Gwent, because of the violence and oppression of Earl Eadred and the men of Mercia, voluntarily betook themselves to the same king, so that they might obtain lordship and protection from him against their enemies. Also Elisedd son of Tewddwfr, king of Brecknock, because of the violence of the same six sons of Rhodri, voluntarily sought the above king as

---

[1] On *gwair*, cf. B xi. 82–3; *Dwrn*, cf. Din-dyrn. *Frauu* corresponds to the *Ffraw* in Aberffraw, and *Terente* (Tarrant) to *T(a)rannon*.

lord. Also Anarawd son of Rhodri (and his brothers) renouncing finally his friendship with the men of Northumbria, from which he had obtained no advantage, but rather loss, earnestly sought the friendship of the king, and came into his presence . . . and submitted, with all his followers, to his lordship.

The old proverb is true enough 'Two Welshmen will never agree'. When it was necessary to choose an overlord, each province of Wales preferred a foreigner. Hywel the Good was only following the example of his predecessors.[1]

This brings us to the second problem concerning Asser's book. In his history of Alfred he represents him as an exceptionally good man and a good king: indeed, too good to be true. In *Asser's Life of King Alfred* (1908), L. C. Jane says (p. 40) that his description of the king and his court is truthful in substance. 'At the same time there is every reason to regard that account as idealized and exaggerated. We cannot accept as literally true the author's description of the royal household, which is false alike to the period and to human nature. Nor can it be doubted that there is gross exaggeration in the account of the administration of the king . . . Alfred was not all that he is represented to be by our author, nor was his reign a golden age.' Hodgkin, in his *History of the Anglo-Saxons* (p. 537), has observed similarly: 'The side of Alfred's character with which Asser could best sympathize was the religious. The biographies known to Asser were the Lives of Saints, and he was therefore naturally inclined to magnify, according to the conventions of hagiography, the saint-like characteristics of his hero' (p. 676); 'Asser's Alfred is almost a crowned monk, worthy of a niche by the side of St. Louis of France.'[2]

---

[1] [Cf. TYP, no. 68, and note, pp. 179–81. The triad offers some confirmation for the existence of nationalist opposition in Dyfed during the time of Asser. See also D. Whitelock, op. cit. cli, note.]

[2] See Lloyd, HW 324–30, for the details; Jane, *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, pp. xxx–xxxiv, for the idea. Hodgkin wonders at Asser's

Enough as to the style of his writing. What about his purpose in over-colouring Alfred's sanctity? He is trying to win his Welsh readers (the clerics) to his party, by showing them how odious it was that the Welsh leaders should be supporting pagans, the idol-worshipping Danes—rather than upholding that shining Christian, Alfred, who was a pattern of all a king should be, as a man, as a religious believer, and as a governor.

The author of the Prophecy stands out as a representative of the other side, and he is a witness that this opposition was living and vocal a generation after Asser wrote his book. Or else, it is necessary to believe that Athelstan's boastful and tyrannical ostentation had re-awakened hatred towards the English, and given rise to the same opposition as before. Certainly, Athelstan's nature was very different from that of Alfred. Even Asser, had he been alive in 930, could hardly have made out that Athelstan was a humble and submissive saint, and have succeeded in making the Welsh believe him. If Hywel the Good imitated the good king in Alfred, perhaps Athelstan's bad example was too much for him, when the opportunity came of attacking Gwynedd.

v. *The* Vita Merlini

If the above argument regarding the date of the *Armes* is correct, it is worth while now to consider its relation to the Latin poem *Vita Merlini*, which is attributed to Geoffrey of Monmouth. The opinion of Professor J. J. Parry[1] is that

description of Alfred rushing into battle *aprino more*—'like a wild boar from the forest', cap. 38. But he was only drawing on the vocabulary of the early Welsh poets; cf. *twrch* 'boar' for a brave warrior, and *tarw trin* 'bull of battle', for similar comparisons in the old poetry. [See TYP 11, 93-4 on these and similar epithets in early Welsh poetry.]

[1] J. J. Parry, *The Vita Merlini*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature (1925), p. 13. He gives a good account of

Geoffrey was the author, and that he composed it in 1150-1. If the *Armes* was composed about 930, Geoffrey could easily have seen a copy of it, especially as it had a particular association with south Wales (Glywysing), and with ecclesiastical circles in the south. Also, it was a prophecy, and Geoffrey was more interested in prophecies than in anything else: the *Vita* contains passages which are undoubtedly derived from early poems such as those which are preserved for us in the *Book of Taliesin*, the manuscript in which the *Armes* is found.

The *Book of Taliesin* belongs to a period later than Geoffrey, but although it was written about 1275, there is plenty of evidence that some of its contents were written at a much earlier period—certainly long before 1150—as is shown by the archaic spelling which has survived here and there.

However, the *Vita Merlini* contains very few *certain* traces of influence from the *Armes*. Of course, the promised deliverers in both poems are Cynan and Cadwaladr: but these two are referred to in other prophetic poems (BT 31. 12; 74. 24; BBC 52. 3-4; 58. 12), and Cadwaladr alone in others (BT 76. 21; 77. 5, 22; 78. 8, 17; 80. 17, 20; BBC 48. 2; 51. 16; 60. 5). But there appears to be one fairly certain allusion to the Prophecy in the *Vita*, ll. 967-71. The Welsh will remain conquered by the Saxons for a long time, says Merlin (Myrddin):

> Donec ab Armorico ueniet temone Conanus,
> Et Cadwaladrus Cambrorum dux[1] uenerandus,
> Qui pariter Scotos, Cambros, et Cornubienses,
> Armoricosque uiros sociabunt federe firmo,
> Amissumque suis reddent diadema colonis,
> Hostibus expulsis, renouato tempore Bruti.

'Until Cynan comes from Brittany (*or* 'from a Breton chariot')

the work of previous editors (Black, Michel, Thomas Wright, San-Marte) and of the manuscripts; he has emended the text, and has given a translation of the whole.

[1] In place of *dum* in the manuscript. So also San-Marte.

and Cadwaladr, the revered leader of the Welsh, and there be formed together in a strong confederation the Scots and the men of Strathclyde, the men of Cornwall and those of Brittany, and the crown that they had lost they shall restore to their people, after driving the enemy forth and renewing the days of Brutus.'

It is possible that the *Scoti* here mean the Irish as well as the inhabitants of Scotland; so that this confederation would include all the participants who are named in the Prophecy, except for the Danes of Dublin. Perhaps Geoffrey did not know that they were the 'men of Dublin' referred to by the poet! Perhaps that made no difference to him. In the first line, he says to his patron that the *Vita* is a poem which is *iocosa*,[1] that is, an amusing poem, not a serious one. His purpose is to amuse his listeners. That is why he puts in it such a mixture of material, and sets no value upon anything so uninteresting as a strict regard for truth. There is reason to think that Geoffrey composed his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (in Welsh, *Brut y Brenhinedd*) in the same spirit: it is a kind of *historia iocosa*. This is Sir John Lloyd's opinion of that work: 'It is idle to look for history, in any guise, from a writer who allowed himself such freedom, and whose first and last thought was for literary effect.'[2]

Apart from the possible allusion suggested above, I do not see anything one can quote as an echo of the Prophecy. Lines 599–600 are no exception:

> Cambrigei missos post illos Cornubienses
> Afficient bello.

It is easy, with San-Marte, to correct the two first words to *Cambri gemissos*, and to take the second, with Parry, as a misreading of *Gewissos* (or better still, *Geuuissos*). Parry

---

[1] Professor Parry translates *iocosa* here by 'humorous', but by 'pleasant' in l. 201; 'laughingly' does not go with *adorat* in l. 532 either. It is an adjective probably corresponding in its use with *llawen* in the Mabinogi.   [2] HW 526–8.

translates: 'The Welsh shall attack the men of Gwent, and afterwards those of Cornwall', but I find it difficult to agree with him. The *Gewissi* are not 'men of Gwent', and why should the Welsh be making war on them, and afterwards upon Cornwall? There is a different reading of the first line in three manuscripts: *Cambri Gemussos Gemussi Cornubienses*. Emend here again to *Gewissi*, and understand it as the men of Wessex, and there is a fairly intelligible prophecy—the Welsh making war against Wessex, and Wessex in turn against Cornwall. (See p. xv for *Iwys = Gewissi*.) But this will not do either. Geoffrey used *Gewissi* in a wholly arbitrary fashion, and not in its historical meaning. In l. 986, Vortigern (*Gwrtheyrn*) is called 'consul *Gewissus*'; so also in the *Historia Regum Britanniae* (vi. 6) 'consul *Gewisseorum*'—in the Welsh *Brut* 'iarll oed hwnnw ar Went ac Ergig ac Euas'[1] ('he was earl over Gwent and Erging and Ewyas'). Octavius' title of 'dux *Geuuisseorum*' is rendered in the Dingestow *Brut* as 'Eudaf (*sic*) earl of Ergyng and Yeuas'.[2] Certainly, the similarity of the name of the district of *Ewias* (in Hereford and Monmouthshire) caused the Welsh to believe that it was the same place as the home of the *Gewissi* in later times. For as regards sound, *Ewias* certainly came a good deal closer to *Gewissi* than did either *Gwent* or *Gwennwys*!

Perhaps it is a waste of time to look for any sort of consistency in Geoffrey's work. But it is possible, nevertheless, to suggest an explanation for his use of these names. If he was ignorant of the names *Iwys* and *Gewissi* as applied to the Saxon inhabitants of Wessex: that is, if it can be supposed that he had overlooked the information supplied by Bede and Asser concerning the West Saxons—and if he had nevertheless

---

[1] RBB 127.
[2] See the note by Professor Henry Lewis, BD 228–9. He gives the oldest Welsh forms for the name from the Book of Llan Dâv: *Eugias, Euias, Ewias*, and adds 'A misreading caused the later pronunciation *Euas*, instead of *Ewias*: the consonantal *i*- became lost, giving *Ewas*.'

seen the allusions in the *Armes* to the *Iwys* in *Caer Geri*
(Cirencester), and *Caer Wynt* (or *Caer Went*, Winchester)
—it is perhaps no wonder that he should have supposed that
the *Gewissi* lived in a district that contained Gloucester, and
perhaps also Hampshire. (Notice the allusions to *Kaerkeii*—
a mistake for *Kaer Keri*—in the *Vita*, l. 593, and *Kaerwen* for
Kaer Went, l. 1485—although the two names occur in different
contexts.) This misunderstanding could have been the reason
which caused Geoffrey to plant Octavius in the middle of the
Roman period, and Vortigern at the end of that period,
both of them as rulers of an imaginary region on the south-
east marches of Wales. It also enabled him to turn the *Gewissi*
into a respectable British tribe, which he was able to locate in
the very district which, centuries later, became occupied by
Saxon raiders who bore this identical name of *Gewissi*.

It is not so difficult to understand how the name *Iwys* =
Gewissi came to be strange to the Welsh. Notice how the
Welshman who translated Geoffrey's Latin in the *Dingestow
Brut* put *Yeuas*, instead of *Euas*, for their home. Was he trying to
make the name more like *Iwys*? On the orthographical evidence
provided by this version of the *Brut* Professor Henry Lewis
says of the text 'it is based ultimately on an exemplar which
was written early in the thirteenth century'.[1] By that date little
memory of the men of Wessex would have survived among the
Welsh, for by then the Normans had become the enemy.

VI. *The river 'Peryddon'*

In l. 18 of the *Armes* there is an allusion to Aber *Perydon*
as the place where the *meiryon mechteyrn* (the 'stewards of the
Great King') will meet to collect their taxes; in l. 71 the
stewards of Caer Geri (Cirencester) complain that their
coming to Aber *Perydon* has been unfortunate. I understand
this to be the old spelling for Aber *Peryddon*. The name of

[1] Ibid., xxxv and 70.

Myrddin is introduced in connection with the allusion in l. 18:
it may be therefore that there was in existence some prophecy
attributed to Myrddin which foretold events connected with
Aber Peryddon, and that this prophecy was older than our
present poem.

Geoffrey wrote the book which San-Marte calls the *Pro-
phetia Merlini* (and which others call the *Vaticinium*) as a
separate work from the *Historia Regum*, and with a different
dedication—namely, to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln. Then
the *Prophetia* was incorporated as Book VII of the *Historia*.
In this book there occurs the following allusion, both in the
Latin and in the Welsh texts:

Er hen gvynn ar uarch guelv yn diheu a drossa *auon Perydon*,
ac a guialen wen a uessur melin arnei. Cadwaladyr a eilv Kynan,
a'r Alban a dwc yn y gedymdeithas. Ena y byd aerua o'r estravn
genedloed. Yna y llithrant yr auonoed o waet. Ena y llaven-
haant mynyded Llydav, ac o'r deyrnwialen y coronheir y
Brytannyeit. Ena y llenwir Kymry o lewenyd, a chedernyt
Kernyv a irhaa.[1]
('The white-haired old man on a white horse will surely divert
the river Peryddon, and with a white rod will measure a mill
upon it. Cadwaladr shall call upon Cynan, and will bring
Scotland into the alliance. Then there will be a slaughter of the
foreign peoples. Then the rivers will flow with blood. Then the
mountains of Brittany will rejoice, and the Britons will be
crowned with the sceptre. Then Wales will be filled with joy,
and the might of Cornwall will be refreshed.')

'Niveus quoque senex in niveo sedens equo *fluvium Perironis*
divertet, et cum candida virga molendinum super ipsum meta-
bitur. Cadualladrus vocabit Conanum, et Albaniam in socie-
tatem accipiet. Tunc erit strages alienigenarum: tunc flumina
sanguine manabunt. Tunc erumpent Armorici fontes et Bruti
diademate coronabuntur. Replebitur Cambria laetitia: et
robora Cornubiae virescent.'[2]

[1] BD 107.
[2] San-Marte, p. 22. [Cf. *Geoffrey of Monmouth: The History of
the Kings of Britain*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe
(Penguin Books, 1966), p. 175.]

It will be noticed that the Latin text varies to some extent from the Welsh. In both we have an old man (*niveus senex* = *er hen gvynn*) who is going to divert a river (*Periron* or *Perydon*), and raise a mill upon its bank. (*Gwneud trosfa*—cf. the *Brut*'s *a drossa*—is the expression which has survived until today in Arfon for making a mill across a river, to divert part of its waters into a mill-stream or lake.) Who is this white-haired old man who is so anxious for water for his mill? One can only speculate. In the Latin text we meet once more with Cadwaladr and Cynan, an alliance with Scotland, a slaughter of foreigners, and rivers of blood—exactly as in *Armes Prydein*. In place of the mountains (the *mynyded* of the Welsh text is presumably derived from a Latin text which read *montes*)[1] of Brittany rejoicing, we get the fountains (*fontes*) of Brittany bursting forth. Wales will be filled with joy, and the oak-trees (or might) of Cornwall will flourish. All this is closely reminiscent of the *Armes*, where we find precisely the same alliance (except for the men of Dublin and the Irish) that we find in Geoffrey.

The name of the river is *Periron* in the Latin text published by Griscom as well; it is *avon Peryron* in the Dingestow *Brut*,[2] but *Perydon* in the corresponding place in the Red Book,[3] and *avon Beirydon* in the text of Havod MS. 2.

Since the Aber Peryddon of the *Armes* was on the way by which the stewards of Cirencester would be expected to pass to collect their taxes from south Wales, I suggest that the possibility is worth considering that it is to be identified with a river whose name is preserved in the *Book of Llan Dâv*, p. 241. The reference to it is found in a charter under the name of Morgan Hen ab Owain, a contemporary of Hywel the Good, which gives the boundaries of *Lann Guoronui*. The

[1] Cf. Griscom, *Hist. Reg. Brit.* 388, erumpent armorici *montes.*
[2] BD 254.
[3] RBB 147.

name is unknown today, as far as I know: but Dr. Gwenogvryn Evans's belief that this 'Llan Oronwy' was to be identified with Rockfield in Monmouthshire, seems to me to be very probable. The boundary starts from *Mingui*, that is, the river Monnow, then goes to the spring of *Dioci*, then 'arhit iguuer bet nant catlan. catlan ini hit bet *aper periron*'.[1] ('Along its tributary as far as Nant Cadlan; along the Cadlan as far as *Aber Periron*.') Here is the very same name in the same spelling as in Geoffrey's Latin, and in a copy of a charter which has been assigned to the epoch of Hywel the Good.[2] Indeed, he is named in it: 'not only through the kingdom of King Morgan . . . but also through the kingdom of Hywel the Good, son of Cadell, who rules over all Wales'. If it is authentic, here is contemporary evidence for the place and for the form of the name. Rockfield stands some three miles to the north-west of the town of Monmouth: on the map there can be seen a little river running into the river Monnow. Eighteen miles to the north is Hereford, where Athelstan summoned the Welsh princes to meet him when he placed on them the oppressive taxes. One would expect that it would have been from Hereford that the tax-collectors would have set out to collect them. And since Geoffrey had some connection with Monmouth—perhaps his home was there, as his name suggests—it is not difficult to believe that he would have known quite well about the river *Periron* which ran close by.

[1] Then it goes on, 'catlan nihit bet mingui. mingui nihit diuinid bet penn arciueir ar pant in icecin ubi incepit armingui.' As far as I can see, this means that the Cadlan is the chief river, and that the Periron is a stream running into it; Cadlan is still its name, until it joins with the Monnow.
[2] [On the date of the charters in the Book of Llan Dâv, see now Christopher Brook, 'The Archbishoprics of St. David's, Llandaff and Caerleon-on-Usk', in N. K. Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 201–42; and John Morris, *Welsh History Review*, i. 230 ff.]

In later spelling one would expect *Periron* to appear as *Peryron*, cf. BD's reading (Peniarth 16). What we find, however, in the orthography of BT is *Perydon*, with *d* for *dd*; that is to say, *Peryddon*. And that is the form which occurs in other parts of Wales. Some suppose (see p. 25 below, note to l. 18) that Peryddon is a name for the Dee; John Jones Gellilyfdy says that there is another name for this river, the Aerfen, cf. Roberts, *Gwaith Dafydd ab Edmwnd*, p. 61, 'o Lann vrfvl i lynn *Aerfen*' ('from Llanwrthwl to glyn (?) Aerfen'). In praising a man of Edeirnion,[1] Tudur Aled says 'Mae breuddwyd am Beryddon / Yr âi gaer hir ar gwrr hon' ('there is a dream (or vision) about Peryddon / That a tall castle should be raised there')—an obvious allusion to some prophecy. Dafydd Benfras addressed his *Marwnad i'r Trywyr Ynghyd*[2] to Llywelyn the Great, Gruffudd, and Dafydd:

> Tri eres armes trachwres trychion . . .
> Tri chleu eu pareu fal *Peryddon*
> ('Three stout and ardent, wonderful portents (?) . . .
> Three with spears swift as Peryddon').

This may mean that they were three who could hurl their spears against the enemy with the swiftness of the Peryddon's current. In the 'Stanzas of the Graves'[3] the grave of Gwalchmai is situated in *Peryddon*, as though it were the name of a district.

Supposing that the Aber *Peryddon* of the *Armes* is the

[1] T. Gwynn Jones, *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, I, p. 163. In his note, II, p. 584, he says 'there is a Nant Beryddon not far from Llandderfel'. I heard from a native of Llanuwchllyn, Mr. T. Roberts, of the Normal College, Bangor, that Afon Peryddon is somewhere near Rhos Gwalia. [More usually known as *Nant Beryddon*, according to a note contributed by Machreth Ellis, B xxi. 229–30. It is the name of a small stream which flows into the Dee opposite Bodweni.]

[2] MA² 222a. 47, 54, from Panton 53; J. G. Evans, *Poetry by Medieval Welsh Bards*, p. 309.

[3] BBC 63. 15. [Ed. Thomas Jones, *The Black Book of Carmarthen 'Stanzas of the Graves'*, Rhŷs Memorial Lecture, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* vol. liii (Oxford, 1967), p. 118.]

same as the Aber *Periron* of Geoffrey, and of the charter in the Book of Llan Dâv, which form of the name is the correct one? Geoffrey is an unsatisfactory witness to the authenticity of name-forms: for instance, he was capable of creating *Merlin* in place of the Welsh name *Merddin*, in order that it might be easier for the French to talk about the prophet. He performed various other linguistic miracles: for instance, he declared that *Cymraeg* came from *Cam Roeg*,[1] 'Crooked Greek', the speech of the descendants of the Trojans. It is better therefore not to depend too much upon him as regards *Periron*. It would have been entirely in accordance with his usual method, if he had interpreted the word itself as containing a prophecy, and had understood it as derived from *peri* 'cause', and *rhon*, the name of Arthur's spear. That was the philology of the time! Take for instance the way in which the author of the Life of St. Illtyd explained the name of the saint (in its Latin form, *Iltutus*) as '*ille ab omni crimine tutus*'.[2]

It is not so easy to cast aside lightly the evidence of a charter contemporary with the *Armes*. Yes, but what assurance is there that it *is* contemporary? We have a copy of it in the Book of Llan Dâv (about 1150), and there were successive editions of the works of Geoffrey throughout the period 1135–50.[3] It is possible, therefore, that the copyist of the charter in 1150 was influenced by Geoffrey's manner of writing the name. It is possible—and that is all. What is certain is that the boundaries given in the Book of Llan Dâv do not keep to the spelling of the original charters letter for

[1] *Historia Regum*, i. 16 [trans. Thorpe, 72]; BD 19.

[2] Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae*, p. 194.

[3] Loth decisively rejects Dr. Evans's theory that Geoffrey composed the Book of Llan Dâv; see RC xv. 369. For the dates of publication of Geoffrey's works, see HW 524–5, and the summary of different opinions in BD xii–xv. [See now J. S. P. Tatlock, *The Legendary History of Britain* (California, 1950), and Christopher Brook, *op. cit.* p. 207, n. 1.]

letter (cf. the forms *Ebrdil*, *Euirdil*, *Efrdil*, *Emrdil*; the two last in the same charter).

My suggestion is that the original read *Periuon*: *r* in the tenth century, as we know from the glosses, was very like *n*, and therefore also like *u*. One could misread *u*, *n*, and *r*, the one in place of the other. *Periuon* stood for *Peryfon*, with *Peryddon* as a colloquial variant, cf. *Eifionydd*, *Eiddionydd*; *gwyryfon*, *gweryddon*. *Peryf* occurs quite frequently in the early poetry both for God and for terrestrial rulers. By adding *-on* to it we get a personal name in the singular, like *gŵr*, *Gwron*; *teyrn* (a word of similar meaning to *peryf*), *Teyrnon*; or the name of a goddess, and hence the names of rivers like *Aeron*, *Ieithon*, *Daron*, cf. *Rhiannon*. That is why *Periuon* could be a name for the Dee, or part of it, or of a river running into it, in spite of the doubts of the Welsh authorities;[1] and although the Dee would not suit at all as the *Afon Peryddon* of the *Armes*. There are various rivers which have the same name, like the *Aeron* found both in Cardiganshire and in the old British North; *Menei* in various places in the south and in the north; *Trannon* in Wales and *Trent* in England (from *Trisantona*).

VII. *Another Prophecy*

In BT 13 the title *Arymes prydein vawr* is given to the poem, and in l. 194 below is found *Arymes yr ynys hon* 'the Prophecy of this Island'. In BT 27, in a series of five-syllabled lines, occurs 'o *erymes* fferyll' ('from the prophecies, of Vergil'), as though *erymes* was to be pronounced as *ermes*; in BT 31:

> Tri dillyn diachor droch drymluawc,
> Teir llyghes yn aches *arymes* kyn brawt

('Three strong (or 'invincible') hosts (?) . . . three fleets in the ocean; affliction before Judgement Day').[2]

---

[1] Davies, *Dict. Duplex*, 'Ego existimo esse nomen proprium viri'.
[2] [Sir Ifor subsequently discussed this poem and suggested a translation of the passage here quoted, in *Chwedl Taliesin* (Cardiff, 1957), pp. 22–4.]

There are ten syllables in the first line, and ten also in the second, if the word is pronounced *armes*. So again in a series of octosyllabic lines by Cynddelw:

> *Armes* gwr gwythlawn y ober (H 146. 3)
> ('the *armes* of a man of ferocious deed').

In Dr. Parry's *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym*, p. 231, the poet addresses his deceitful love:

> Enwog y'th wnair, gair gyrddbwyll,
> *Armes*, telynores twyll
> ('Thou wilt be made famous, a weighty word,
> A (false) prophecy, a deceptive harpist'),

i.e. she will become famous like an *Armes*, or false prophecy (and like a harp with untuned strings); everyone will know about her, no one will believe her. (See B i. 35–6, for further details concerning the word and its meaning.)[1]

'Prydain Fawr' in the title *Armes prydein vawr* (BT 13) does not mean 'Great Britain': *fawr* refers to the length of the Prophecy, not to the size of Britain. Similarly, *Gwawt lud y mawr* ('The great praise of Lludd') is given as the title of a poem, BT 74. On the margin opposite the beginning of another poem (BT 76) is found [Y]*marwar llud mawr* ('The great discussion of Lludd'). Before a short poem on p. 78 is found *Ymarwar llud bychā*, that is *bychan* 'little'. Afterwards, p. 79, *Kanu y byt mawr* ('The great song of the world') and a lesser one, p. 80, *Kanu y byt bycha(n)*.

One would expect, therefore, to find a short poem corresponding to the long Prophecy, and I believe that such a one is to be found, BT 70. 16.–71. 6. There is no title to it, nor

---

[1] In BT 10 before a long poem describing the Day of Judgement, a later hand has added in the gap that was left vacant in l. 4 for the title (originally not supplied)—*Yrymes det brawt* 'The Prophecy of Judgement Day'. This is a good example of the word, where its meaning is quite unambiguous, 'a foretelling of the future', its tribulation, its terror, and its joy.

place for one, but the first four lines of *Armes Prydein* are given, to start with, and then a different vaticination follows:

1	Dygogan awen dygobryssyn.	The *awen* foretells, they will hasten,
	Maranhed ameuued a hed genhyn.	wealth and property and peace with us,
	A phennaeth ehalaeth affraeth vnbyn.	and wide dominion and ready leaders,
	A gwedy dyhed anhed ym pop mehyn.	(and) after commotion, settlement in every place.
5	Seith meib o veli dyrchafyssyn.	Seven sons of Beli will arise,
	Kaswallawn allud achestudyn.	Caswallawn and Lludd and . . .
	diwed plo coll iago o tir prydyn.	. . . the loss of Iago from the land of Prydyn.
	Gwlat uerw dyderuyd hyt valaon.	A land in commotion as far as (Penrhyn) Blathaon(?),
	lludedic eu hoelyon ymdeithic eu hafwyn.	Weary their heroes (*haelyon*?), roving their horses (?).
10	Gwlat wehyn vargotyon.	A land devastated (or 'Devastating the land') (to its) borders (?).
	Kollawt kymry oll eu haelder.	The Welsh will lose all their nobility;
	Ynrygystlyned o pennaeth weisson.	Servants pressing their claim to lordship.
	Rydybyd llyminawc	There will come a 'llyminawg'
	auyd gwr chwannawc	who will be a predatory man
15	y werescyn mon	to conquer Môn
	arewinyaw gwyned.	and lay waste Gwynedd
	oe heithaf oe pherued	from her furthest border to her centre,
	oe dechreu oe diwed.	from her beginning to her end,
	A chymryt y gwystlon.	and take her hostages;
20	Ystic y wyneb	Angry his face
	nyt estwg y neb	who submits to nobody,
	na chymry na saesson.	neither Welsh nor English.
	Dydaw gwr o gwd	A man will come from hiding

	Awna kyfamrud.	who will make slaughter
25	Achat ygynhon.	and battle (with ?) the foreigners;
	Arall adyfyd	Another will come,
	pellenawc y luyd	from afar his hosts,
	llewenyd y vrython.	a joy to the Britons.

Notice how the four first lines of this *Armes* lead to three more lines (5–7) with the same end-ryhme in -*yn*, thus forming an *awdl*, according to the early definition. Then the remainder has the same main rhyme, in -*on*, forming another *awdl*. It is necessary to alter the end word in 9, since there is no rhyme for *hafwyn*. I suggest *kaffon* in its place (cf. BT 57. 4) [and see PT 38] to get the correct metre and to give good sense; and in 11–12 I take *haelder* as rhyming internally with *rygystlyned*, since -*er* and -*ed*(*d*) make 'Irish' rhyme, such as was permitted in the early period. The metre is easy to follow from 13 to 28. Emend *o gwd* in 23 to *o gud* (that is *o gudd*).

In this last part, it is prophesied that a 'Llyminawg', i.e. a greedy or predatory man, will come to conquer Anglesey, and destroy Gwynedd from end to end: his face will be angry, and he will submit to no one, neither Welsh nor English. A man will come out of hiding and fight against the foreigners (cf. the *Armes*, ll. 131, 176, 183—*gynnon* is a common word both for the English and for the Danes). Another will come as well, with an army from afar, who will be a cause of joy to the Britons. Reading this, one's mind turns at once to Gruffudd ap Cynan in the North and to Rhys ap Tewdwr in the South, both of them exiles from their country at about the same time, but both eventually successful, by perseverance, in regaining their lost patrimony. The author of the *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan*[1] supposed that there was an allusion to Gruffudd in a prophecy attributed to Myrddin, 'Ef ae daroganws Merdin

---

[1] HGC 110.

ef ynni val hynn' ('Myrddin prophesied to us thus—'), and he gives his prophecy:

> Llyminawc lletfer a daroganer
> Anaeth diarvor dygosel
> llegrur y enw llycrawt llawer.[1]

Then he gives a Latin translation, 'Saltus ferinus praesagitur / uenturus de mari insidiaturus / cuius nomen corruptor quod multos corrumpet.'

Saltus ferinus (if the reading is correct) is not an exact translation, but it shows how *llyminawc* was understood by a Welshman of the twelfth century, that is as a derivative of *llam*.[2] With the adjective *lletfer* it means a warrior who leaps upon his enemy, like a wild animal on his prey; a fierce mad leaper, a tiger of a man! He comes 'from over the sea' as Gruffudd came; he is known as a *corruptor*, a spoiler, and he will act as one. It is difficult to refrain from comparing the other prophecy, about the predatory man who will come to conquer Môn (like Gruffudd) and hence to lay waste (*rhewiniaw*) Gwynedd from its outer edge to its centre, and from beginning to end. And certainly, during the first attacks of Gruffudd, and indeed for some time afterwards, Gwynedd was cruelly ravaged and laid waste.

Perhaps it is a coincidence that the prophecies agree so well with history; perhaps this proves that both were composed in the last quarter of the eleventh century; perhaps they are parts of a single prophecy; but, be this as it may, the *History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* illustrates the firm belief in prophecies which was held even by learned Welsh ecclesiastics at that date. It is to be remembered that this interesting biographical

---

[1] Notice the 'Irish' rhyme in -el, -er, and the rudimentary *cynghanedd*.

[2] Cf. the gloss *lemenic* on *salax*; Loth, VVB 172: he gives its Irish cognate, *léimnech*. It occurs for Urien, BT 42. 8, and in older orthography, *lleminawc*, 55. 5; cf. *llegrwr* for *llygrwr*; *Merddin* for *Myrddin*.

treatise was first composed in Latin, and that it has been preserved for us only in a later Welsh translation.

VIII. *Ormesta Britanniae*

In the third chapter of the Life of St. Paul of Léon in Brittany by Wrmonoc (A.D. 884),[1] there are references to Saint David, to Samson, and to Gildas. Concerning the book composed by the last 'which they call *Ormesta Britanniae*' it is said that it was written by him 'de ipsius insulae situ atque miseriis'. It appears therefore that this book 'concerning the position and tribulations' of the island (which is known to us as *De Excidio Britanniae* or 'Concerning the overthrow of Britain') was known in Brittany in the ninth century under another name, and one which caused a certain amount of difficulty in its interpretation.

Cuissard drew attention to a similar title in a manuscript belonging to Fleury (on the border of Brittany) where the work of the fifth-century historian Orosius is described as *Orosii presbyteri in Ormesta mundi*; and he refers to the fuller title given in another manuscript, *Incipit capitulationis in librum Historiarum Orosii sanctissimi viri de Miseria hominum*. We find therefore *Ormesta Mundi* used as though it were synonymous with 'de *Miseria* hominum'.[2]

---

[1] [Ed. Cuissard, RC v. See also G. H. Doble, *The Saints of Cornwall* (printed for the Dean and Chapter of Truro, Chatham, 1960), part i, 13.]

[2] [See a note by C. Brett on *ormesta* in E. J. Jones, *A History of Education in Wales* (Wrexham, 1931), 280–3. The manuscripts of Orosius give the variants *Ormesta, Hormesta, Ormista*, and the work is referred to as *Ormesta* by various mediaeval writers. It is clear that from the eighth to the fifteenth century this was understood to be the title of Orosius' History: *Ormesta Mundi* or 'the misery of the world' being 'a natural assumption from the contents and intent of Orosius' History'. In ZCP iv (1903), 462–3, however, A. Anscombe suggested that the title *Ormesta mundi* originated simply as a corruption of *historia mundi*.]

With regard to this Gaidoz observes that *Ormesta* is a form of *Wormesta*, the Breton word which corresponds to *Gormes* in Welsh, and that the termination *-ta* has been added to it to Latinize it.[1] He concludes that the similarity in subject-matter caused the Breton clerics to transfer the title of Gildas' book to the work of Orosius. Dr. Hugh Williams accepts this in his discussion of the *Vita Gildae*,[2] the work of a monk from the monastery of Ruys in Brittany. The latter states, in a sentence which reminds us of the title *De Miseria* above, 'Inter cetera vero, quae ipse sanctus Gildas scripsit de *miseriis* et praevaricationibus et *excidio Britanniae*, hoc etiam de illa praemisit'.[3] Here is an indisputable equation between *de miseriis* and *de excidio Britanniae*. But *gormes* does not seem to be a good translation of *miseria*: 'wretchedness', 'affliction', or 'tribulations' (in the plural) would be better. *Gormes*, on the other hand, means violence, oppression. Would not *armes*, in its secondary meaning, correspond better to *ormesta*? Does not a prophet usually prophesy heavy weather and tribulations— together with fair weather and prosperity to follow afterwards, at some indefinite time in the future? That is what is expected of him; that has always been the purpose of every prediction and vaticination and prophecy—to raise the spirits of the afflicted during a period of national tribulation. The present affliction was true enough. By putting the forecast of this adversity, which was in itself undeniable, into the mouth of some Myrddin or Taliesin of the previous age, belief was won (perhaps) for the message of hope which followed. It was known by bitter experience that the prophet was right as regards the sad part of his prophecy, and it was this which helped those who were in affliction to believe he was right

[1] RC v. 413, 458–60.
[2] Hugh Williams, *Gildas*, 319 n.
[3] Ibid. 324–5. Hugh Williams translates 'Indeed amongst other matters which St. Gildas himself has written about the *miseries* and transgressions and *ruin of Britain*', etc.

also in his gospel of hope. But the account of the tribulations formed the burden of his song. As a description of the woes of the Britons, one might with considerable justice call Gildas' book an *Armes*. As the history of Picts and Scots and Saxons attacking Britain, and settling the greater part of it, neither *armes* nor *gormes* is entirely appropriate, but *gormesoedd*.[1] *Armes* would do, however, in the sense that it was a forecast of the afflictions to come before Judgement Day. In the poetry in the Red Book of Hergest there is a prophecy which is called 'Cyfoesi Myrddin a Gwenddydd ei chwaer' (Myrddin's Colloquy with his sister Gwenddydd).[2] Gwenddydd puts a question to Myrddin in an *englyn*, and Myrddin answers in another, each in turn, making a long series. In one *englyn* she asks him 'Who will rule after Merfyn?' Here is his answer:

> Dywedwyf nyt odrycawr.
> *ormes brydein* pryderawr.
> wedi Meruyn Rodri Mawr.[3]

(I say there will be no delay;
the *ormes* of Britain will be pondered (?),
after Merfyn, Rhodri Mawr.)

Next, there is talk about Gruffudd ruling over the land of Britain, and she asks to whom it will belong after Gruffudd. He replies:

> Dywedwyf nyt odrycker.
> *ormes prydein* pryderer.
> Gwedy Gruffud Gwyn Gwarther.[4]

(I say there will be no delay;
the *ormes* of Britain will be pondered (?),
after Gruffudd, Gwynn the Noble.)

[1] [For *gormes* used in this sense, cf. TYP, triad 36, and note, pp. 84–6.]
[2] RP 577–83.   [3] Ibid. 578. 42–3; 579. 1–2.
[4] Ibid. 580. 4–6. [Gwyn Gwarther was a name for Owain Gwynedd, see G 625.]

In another copy, older by a hundred years than the Red Book, the orthography varies a little:

Dywedwyf nyt o dryker
armes prydein pryderer.[1]

Here is an allusion to *Armes Prydein*, or *Ormes Prydein*, as something which is to be seriously considered, or to be studied carefully.[2] It is very unlikely that the allusion is to the work of Gildas. There is more to be said for supposing that it is to the prophecy of 930. Perhaps the History of Britain is meant; cf. the use of *Ormesta* above, for Orosius' history. Perhaps there were a mass of prophecies current, in both oral and written form.[3]

In his argument with Llywelyn ab Y Moel, Rhys Goch Eryri enquires whence is the source of poetic inspiration; Llywelyn replies that *his* inspiration comes from the Holy Spirit; and that it was on the first Whit Sunday that the Holy Spirit first bestowed the gift of poetry:

Ac yn *armes Taliesin*
Drud yn llys Faelgwn fu'r drin,
Pan ollyngawdd, medrawdd mwy,
Elffin o eurin aerwy.[4]

('And in the history (?) of Taliesin
the contest was severe in the court of Maelgwn
when he released (he was capable of more)
Elffin from the golden chain'.)

Rhys contradicts him as to the Whit Sunday dating (the *awen*, he claims, is far older, and was imparted to Adam in Paradise), but praises him as regards the second point: the gift of poetry came from Heaven, he says, and

---

[1] B iv. 114, from Peniarth 3 (about 1300).
[2] See PKM p. 158, [TYP 496–7], for some of the old meanings of *pryderu*.
[3] [Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, *De Vaticiniis* (Rolls Series V, p. 401) for a reference to such oral prophecies current in the twelfth century, and to the writer's discovery of a book containing written prophecies 'in a most remote district of Gwynedd which is called Lein (Lleyn)'.]
[4] IGE² 167. 25–9.

Taliesin, hydr ar fydr fu,
Gobaith proffwyd, a'i gwybu[1]

('Taliesin, he was powerful in verse,
A prophet's hope, he knew it').

In his *cywydd* to the home of Gwilym ap Gruffudd of Penrhyn, Rhys returns again to the point:

Y mae *armes Taliesin*,
A'i fawl penceirddiaidd o'i fin,
Yn cymwyll, heb hirdwyll hawl,
Taer yw, y tŷ eiriawl.[2]

('The history (?) of Taliesin
with a *pencerdd*'s praise from his lips
mentions, without deceptive claim
fervently, the snow-white house.)

I do not know what his evidence is for saying that the *Armes Taliesin* mentioned that house; he may allude to one of the host of prophecies and stories of every age that became fathered on Taliesin, in the tale which was later known as the *Hanes Taliesin*. Perhaps *Armes Taliesin* was its original name, when the emphasis was on the prophecies which it contained; and this turned into *Hanes Taliesin* when the story came to the forefront. However that may be, here is an instance of *Armes* being used as the equivalent of *Hanes*.

IX. *The Text*

I have followed the text of the *Book of Taliesin* almost without alteration. For the reader's convenience, however, I have made a division between words which the scribe has joined together, contrary to our modern practice, as in ll. 2–3: '*ahed* gennyn. *Aphennaeth* ehelaeth *affraeth* vnbyn.' I have ignored the different forms for the letters *w* and *r* and *s*. I

---

[1] Ibid. 172. 1–2.
[2] 311. 27–30. [GPC 208 gives for *armes* the meanings of (i) prophecy, prediction, and (ii) calamity, tribulation; and classifies all the above examples under one or other of these.]

have supplied capitals for names of places and persons. What-
ever I have added to the text, I have put in square brackets
(see ll. 35, 37, 60). In l. 106 I have changed *allan* to *all*[*myn*]
as required by the rhyme.

Instead of employing the spelling which occurs in the
manuscript for the title of the poem, *Arymes*, I have thought it
preferable to use the form which is used by the Poets of the
Princes and by Dafydd ap Gwilym, that is *Armes*. The *y* in
Arymes cannot be a full vowel, nor can the word be a tri-
syllable. If it were a trisyllable, the accent and the emphasis
would fall on the second syllable, with the result that this
syllable would have been preserved, and *arýmes* would have
continued to be heard. By starting with *armes* it is possible
to understand why *arymes* came to be a variant: in a combina-
tion such as *rm* an epenthetic vowel tends to be introduced
when one passes from the *r* to the *m*, and this may be denoted
in the spelling by an *e* or a *y*; for instance, *garym* is written
for *garm* ('shout'), and *gwrym* for *gwrm* ('black, brown; dark
grey'). Such words are not disyllables, but monosyllables;
the *y* in them had not developed the strength of a full vowel.
In PKM 88 there occurs the word *garymleis* 'a scream'; it is
not a trisyllable but a disyllable, from *garm* and *llais* (a com-
pound of synonyms, like *torf-lu*). In the same school of ortho-
graphy *armes* came to be written as *arymes*.

In the *Book of Taliesin* the text is not written in lines like
poetry, but continuously as though it were prose. It has been
printed in lines in my text. The copyists' method of indicating
the end of a metrical line was to put a full stop after the
rhyming word which came at the end: I have kept to that
rule. In the early days a poem which had a single main-rhyme
throughout was called an *awdl*; at the beginning of each *awdl*
of the kind, the scribe put a large capital letter. In the
Armes there are nine such *awdlau*: he forgot the large
capital in the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth—giving nothing

but a small capital, similar to that which he put sometimes at
the beginning of a line. At the beginning of the ninth *awdl* he
left a gap and a small *d* in the middle, for himself or someone
else to supply an illuminated *D* in its place—but it was never
supplied. His second *awdl*, as it appears in the manuscript, is
shown by its rhymes to be a mixture of three.

A peculiarity of the rhyme-scheme is that so many 'Irish'
rhymes occur: that is to say, the vowels or diphthongs corre-
spond, but the consonants vary (see *Canu Aneirin*, p. lxxv).
There are rhymes between -*er*, -*ed*(*d*); -*yl*, -*yr*, -*yd*(*d*); *yn*(*n*), -*yg*
(= -*yng*), -*yrn*. Perhaps there is consonance or half-rhyme
(*proest*) in l. 29, and internal rhyme (*odl gyrch*) between ll. 151
and 152, -*eir*, -*ein*.

To come back to the second *awdl*. From l. 17 to l. 23 the
rhyme is in -*yn*, as in ll. 1–16. Then comes:

> Ny dyffei a talei yg keithiwet.
> Mab Meir mawr a eir pryt na thardet.
> rac pennaeth Saesson ac eu hoffed.

From l. 26 to l. 44 -*ed*(*d*): -*er* is the rhyme, except for the half-
rhyme in l. 29, *dayar*. To get rid of an irregularity, I suggest
reading *tharder* (pres. subj. impers.) in place of *thardet* in
l. 25: -*er* instead of -*et* gives perfect 'Irish' rhyme to join the
line to the following lines. Also *Mab Meir* is now clearly shown
to begin a new *awdl*, as in l. 45:

> Mab Meir mawr a eir pryt nas terdyn.

Lines 1–23 can therefore be united, and regarded as forming
a single *awdl*.

There is still one line, 24: *Ny dyffei a talei yg keithiwet*,
which remains entirely on its own, without any metrical
connection either with what precedes or with what follows. I
suggest, therefore, that it was a gloss on the original text
which was copied by the scribe of the *Book of Taliesin*, and

that it was intended to explain l. 22: *yg ketoed Kymry nat oed a telhyn*—and that it was included by mistake in the text. The ambiguity of the word *talu* was the reason for the gloss. If this be accepted, then the first *awdl* contains ll. 1–23, the second ll. 25–44, and l. 24 is omitted. Its meaning is, nobody would be willing to pay the new tax *under compulsion*. This is not the only example in the *Book of Taliesin* in which a gloss has been included as part of the text!

The usual metre of the *Armes* is Cyhydedd Naw Ban. Lines of nine syllables occur in 92 of the lines, interspersed with 89 lines of ten syllables. For the most part the nine-syllabled lines are divided by a medial pause or caesura into groups of 5+4, the ten-syllabled into groups of 6+4. But in 23 of the ten-syllabled lines the caesura comes after the fifth syllable, giving two half-lines of 5+5. There are also 8 longer lines, divided by caesura into 6+5. This accounts for 189 of the 199 lines in the poem: the remaining ten lines are easily arranged or adapted to conform to one or other of these lengths. One can see how fond the poet was of making the second half of the line into one of four syllables, following the pause. The lines are embellished with alliteration and internal rhyme; frequently the end of the first half-line rhymes with the second syllable in the second half, sometimes the rhyming words are in the first half.

[Dr. Gwyn Thomas's valuable note on the poem in B xxiv, 263-7 appeared too late to be considered here. — Ed.]

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	*Annales Cambriae* in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 152–69.
ACL	W. Stokes and K. Meyer, *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* (Halle a. S., 1898–1907).
ACS	A. Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* (Leipzig, 1896–1913).
AL	A. Owen, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, i, ii (London, 1841).
Andrews	E. A. Andrews, *A Copious and Critical Latin–English Lexicon* (London, 1852).
Arch. Camb.	*Archaeologia Cambrensis*. The journal of the Cambrian Archaeological Society (1846–).
B	*The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* (Cardiff, 1921–).
BBC	J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *The Black Book of Carmarthen* (Pwllheli, 1906).
BD	H. Lewis, *Brut Dingestow* (Caerdydd, 1942).
Br.	Breton.
BrCl.	J. J. Parry, *Brut y Brenhinedd*, Cotton Cleopatra Version (Cambridge, Mass., 1937).
Br. Tywys.	Thomas Jones, *Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes*, Red Book of Hergest Version (Cardiff, 1955).
BT	J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *The Book of Taliesin* (Llanbedrog, 1910).
CA	Ifor Williams, *Canu Aneirin* (Caerdydd, 1938).
CCh.	R. Williams, *Campeu Charlymaen. Selections from the Hengwrt MSS.*, vol. i (London, 1878).
CIL	K. Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*. Suppl. to ACL.
CLlH	Ifor Williams, *Canu Llywarch Hen* (Caerdydd, 1935).
Contrib.	*Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (Dublin, Royal Irish Academy); in progress.
CT	Ifor Williams, *Canu Taliesin* (Caerdydd, 1960). (See PT.)
Cy.	*Y Cymmrodor* (London).
Cymmr. Trans.	*The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* (London, 1877–).
ChBr	J. Loth, *Chrestomathie bretonne* (Paris, 1890).
ChO	Ifor Williams, *Chwedlau Odo* (Wrecsam, 1926; new edition, Caerdydd, 1958).

D	J. Davies, *Dictionarium Duplex* (Britannico-Latinum) (Londini, 1632).
DB	H. Lewis and P. Diverres, *Delw y Byd* (Caerdydd, 1928).
DGG	Thomas Roberts and Ifor Williams, *Cywyddau Dafydd ap Gwilym a'i Gyfoeswyr* (Bangor, 1914; new edition, Caerdydd, 1935).
DGVB	Léon Fleuriot, *Dictionnaire des gloses en vieux breton* (Paris, 1964).
DWS	William Salesbury, *A Dictionary in Englyshe and Welshe*, London, 1547 (reprint, 1877).
EEW	T. H. Parry-Williams, *The English Element in Welsh* (London, Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion, 1923).
EL	Henry Lewis, *Yr Elfen Ladin yn yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1943).
Etym.	W. M. Lindsay, *Isidori . . . Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri*, 1911.
EWGT	P. C. Bartrum, *Early Welsh Genealogical Tracts* (Cardiff, 1966).
FAB	W. F. Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales* (Edinburgh, 1868).
G	J. Lloyd-Jones, *Geirfa Barddoniaeth Gynnar Gymraeg* (Caerdydd, 1931–).
GBC	Rhys Jones, *Gorchestion Beirdd Cymru* (Shrewsbury, 1773).
GDG	T. Parry, *Gwaith Dafydd ap Gwilym* (Caerdydd, 1952; new edition, 1963).
GG	Ifor Williams, *Gwaith Guto'r Glyn* (Caerdydd, 1939; new edition, 1961).
Gildas	Hugh Williams, *Gildae De Excidio Britanniae* (London, Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion, 1899, 1901).
GMB	E. Ernault, *Glossaire moyen-breton* (Paris, 1895).
GMW	D. Simon Evans, *A Grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin, 1964).
GMWL	T. Lewis, *A Glossary of Mediaeval Welsh Law* (Manchester, 1913).
GOI	R. Thurneysen, *A Grammar of Old Irish*, translated by D. A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin (Dublin, 1946).
GPC	*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru* (Caerdydd, 1950–).
Gr.	Greek.
Gwyn.	Ifor Williams, *Gwyneddon MS. III* (Cardiff, 1931).
H	J. Morris-Jones, Rh. Morris-Jones, and T. H.

	Parry-Williams, *Llawysgrif Hendregadredd* (Caerdydd, 1933).
HB	T. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Chronica Minora*, vol. iii, fasc. I (edition of Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*) (Berlin, 1894).
HE	C. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896).
Hen.MSS	R. Williams, *Selections from the Hengwrt Manuscripts* (London, 1876–1892).
HGC.	A. Jones, *The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan* (Manchester, 1910).
HGCr.	H. Lewis, *Hen Gerddi Crefyddol* (Caerdydd, 1931).
Hogan, *Onom.*	Edmund Hogan, S.J., *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin, 1910).
HW	J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, 2 vols. (London, 1911, 1939).
IGE	H. Lewis, T. Roberts, and I. Williams, *Cywyddau Iolo Goch ac Eraill* (Bangor, 1925; new edition, Caerdydd, 1937).
LEWP	Ifor Williams, *Lectures on Early Welsh Poetry* (Dublin, 1944; reprinted 1954, 1970).
LHEB	K. H. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953).
LL	J. G. Evans and J. Rhŷs, *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv* (Oxford, 1893).
LP	H. Lewis and H. Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (Göttingen, 1937).
LlA	J. Morris-Jones and J. Rhŷs, *The Elucidarium and other Tracts* (Oxford, 1894).
LlB	S. J. Williams and J. E. Powell, *Cyfreithiau Hywel Dda yn ôl Llyfr Blegywryd* (Caerdydd, 1942).
LlLlC	H. Lewis, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol* (Caerdydd, 1935).
LlO	*Orgraff yr Iaith Gymraeg*, Adroddiad Pwyllgor Llên Bwrdd Gwybodau Celtaidd, Prifysgol Cymru (Caerdydd, 1928).
MA²	*The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (Denbigh, 1870).
MBr.	Mediaeval Breton.
MHB	H. Petrie–J. Sharpe, *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (London, 1848).
ModBr.	Modern Breton.
ModW	Modern Welsh.
MW	Mediaeval Welsh.
OBr.	Old Breton.
OI	Old Irish.

OW	Old Welsh.
Owein	R. L. Thomson, *Owein: or Chwedyl Iarlles y Ffynnawn* (Dublin, 1968).
Owen, *Pemb.*	Henry Owen (ed.), *The Description of Pembrokeshire. By George Owen of Henllys* (1552–1613). (Cymmrodorion Record Society, London, 1892–1906.) With notes by E. Phillimore.
Ox. 1	Oxoniensis Prior = Bodleian MS. Auct. F. 4. 32.
Ox. 2	Oxoniensis Posterior = Bodleian MS. 572.
PKM	Ifor Williams, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi* (Caerdydd, 1930; new edition, 1951).
PT	Ifor Williams, *The Poems of Taliesin*; English Version by J. E. Caerwyn Williams (Dublin, 1968).
RBB	J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1890).
RC	*Revue celtique* (Paris, 1870–1934).
RM	J. Rhŷs and J. G. Evans, *The Text of the Mabinogion from the Red Book of Hergest* (Oxford, 1887).
RP	J. G. Evans, *The Poetry in the Red Book of Hergest* (Llanbedrog, 1911).
RWM	J. G. Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* (London, 1898–1910).
San-Marte	San-Marte, *Die Sagen von Merlin* (Halle, 1853).
TW	T. Wiliems, *Dictionarium Duplex* (Latino-Britannicum) (Londini, 1632). (See D.)
TYP	R. Bromwich, *Trioedd Ynys Prydein* (Cardiff, 1961).
VKG	Holger Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* (Göttingen, 1909, 1913).
VVB	J. Loth, *Vocabulaire vieux-breton* (Paris, 1884).
W	Ernst Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1880).
WG	J. Morris-Jones, *A Welsh Grammar* (Oxford, 1913).
WM	J. G. Evans, *The White Book Mabinogion* (Pwllheli, 1907).
WML	A. W. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Mediaeval Law* (Oxford, 1909).
W-P	A. Walde and J. Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indo-germanischen Sprachen* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1930–2).
YCM	S. J. Williams, *Ystorya de Carolo Magno* (Caerdydd, 1930).
ZCP	*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (Halle a. S., 1899–).

ARMES PRYDEIN VAWR

ARMES PRYDEIN VAWR

DYGOGAN awen dygobryssyn.
maraned a meued a hed genhyn.
A phennaeth ehelaeth a ffraeth vnbyn.
A gwedy dyhed anhed ym pop mehyn.
Gwyr gwychyr yn trydar kasnar degyn.   5
escut yg gofut ryhyt diffyn.
Gwaethyl gwyr hyt Gaer Weir gwasgarawt allmyn.
gwnahawnt goruoled gwedy gwehyn.
A chymot Kymry a gwyr Dulyn.
Gwydyl Iwerdon Mon a Phrydyn.   10
Cornyw a Chludwys eu kynnwys genhyn.
Atporyon uyd Brython pan dyorfyn.
Pell dygoganher amser dybydyn.
Teyrned a bonhed eu gorescyn.
Gwyr Gogled yg kynted yn eu kylchyn.   15
ymperued eu racwed y discynnyn.

Dysgogan Myrdin kyueruyd hyn.
yn Aber Perydon meiryon mechteyrn.
A chyny bei vn reith lleith a gwynyn.
o vn ewyllis bryt yd ymwrthuynnyn.   20
Meiryon eu tretheu dychynnullyn.
yg ketoed Kymry nat oed a telhyn.
yssyd wr dylyedawc a lefeir hyn.
(ny dyffei a talei yg keithiwet).

THE GREAT PROPHECY OF BRITAIN

THE *Awen* foretells, they will hasten:[1]
we shall have wealth and property and peace,
and wide dominion, and ready leaders;
(and) after commotion, settlement in every place.
Brave men in battle-tumult, mighty warriors,   5
swift in attack, very stubborn in defence.
The warriors will scatter the foreigners as far as Caer Weir—
they will rejoice after the devastation,
and there will be reconciliation between the Cymry and the
     men of Dublin,
the Irish of Ireland and Anglesey (?) and Scotland,   10
the men of Cornwall and of Strathclyde will be made welcome
     among us.
The Britons will rise again (?) when they prevail (?),
for long was (?) prophesied the time when they[1] will come,
as rulers whose possession is by (the right of) descent.
The Men of the North (will be) in the place of honour about
     them,
they will advance in the centre of their van of battle.   15

   Myrddin foretells that they will meet
in Aber Peryddon, the stewards of the Great King.[2]
(And though it be not in the same way, they will (all) lament
     death)
with a single will they will offer battle.   20
The stewards will collect their taxes—
in the armies (?) of the Cymry, there was nobody who would
     pay (?).
He is a noble man who says this:
(nobody would pay them under compulsion).

[1] i.e. Cynan and Cadwaladr.
[2] Athelstan.

Mab Meir mawr a eir pryt na tharde[r].   25
rac pennaeth Saesson ac eu hoffed.
Pell bwynt kychmyn y Wrtheyrn Gwyned.
ef gyrhawt allmyn y alltuded.
nys arhaedwy neb nys dioes dayar.
ny wydynt py treiglynt ym pop aber.   30
pan prynassant Danet trwy fflet called.
gan Hors a Hegys oed yng eu ryssed.
eu kynnyd bu y wrthym yn anuonhed.
gwedy rin dilein keith y mynuer.
dechymyd meddaw[t] mawr wirawt o ved.   35
dechymyd aghen agheu llawer.
dec[h]ymyd anaeleu dagreu gwraged
dychyfroy etgyllaeth pennaeth lletfer.
dechymyd tristit byt a ryher.
Pan uyd kechmyn Danet an teyrned.   40
Gwrthottit trindawt dyrnawt a bwyller.
y dilein gwlat Vrython a Saesson yn anhed.
poet kynt eu reges yn alltuded.
no mynet Kymry yn diffroed.

Mab Meir mawr a eir pryt nas terdyn.   45
Kymry rac goeir breyr ac vnbyn.
kyneircheit kyneilweit vn reith cwynnyn.
vn gor vn gyghor vn eissor ynt.
nyt oed yr mawred nas lleferynt.
namyn yr hebcor goeir nas kymodynt.   50
y Dduw a Dewi yd ymorchymynynt.
talet gwrthodet flet y allmyn.
gwnaent wy aneireu eisseu trefdyn.
Kymry a Saesson kyferuydyn

Son of Mary (great the Word), how is it that they do not burst
        forth (?)   25
because of the dominion of the Saxons and their boasting—
Far off be those scavengers of Gwrtheyrn Gwynedd!
The foreigners will be driven into exile:
no one will receive them, they have no land.
They do not know why they wander in every estuary,   30
when they bought Thanet through false cunning,
with Hors and Hengist, their power was straitened;
their gain was ignoble, and at our cost:
after the secret slaughter,[1] churls now wear a crown.
Much mead-drinking means drunkenness,   35
many deaths mean want,
women's tears mean affliction,
oppressive rule will give rise to sorrow,
a world which is overturned (?) means grief.
When the scavengers of Thanet become our princes   40
let the Trinity ward off the blow that is intended!
to destroy the land of the Britons, and the Saxons (to be)
        occupying it.
Sooner may they retreat into exile
than that the Cymry should become homeless.

Son of Mary (great the Word), how was it that they did not
        burst forth—
                                                         45
the Cymry—because of the infamy of lords and of chieftains;
both suppliants and their patrons bewail in the same
        manner:
they are of one mind (?), of one counsel, of one nature.
It would not be through pride that they would not discuss it—
but to avoid infamy that they would not make peace.   50
They commend themselves to God and to Dewi,
let Him pay back, let Him reject, the deceit of the foreigners!
They are performing (?) shameful acts for want of a patrimony.
Cymry and Saxons will meet together

[1] Perhaps referring to the 'Treachery of the Long Knives' as
narrated by Nennius.

y am lan ymtreulaw ac ymwrthryn.   55
o diruawr vydinawr pan ymprofyn.
Ac am allt lafnawr a gawr a gryn.
Ac am Gwy geir kyfyrgeir y am peurllyn.
A lluman adaw agarw disgyn.
A mal [bwyt] balaon Saesson syrthyn.   60
Kymry kynyrcheit kyfun dullyn.
blaen wrth von granwynyon kyfyng oedyn.
meiryon yg werth eu geu yn eu creinhyn.
Eu bydin ygwaetlin yn eu kylchyn.
Ereill ar eu traet trwy goet kilhyn.   65
Trwy uwrch y dinas ffoxas ffohyn.
ryfel heb dychwel y tir Prydyn.
Attor trwy law gyghor mal mor llithryn.

Meiryon Kaer Geri difri cwynant.
rei y dyffryn a bryn nys dirwadant.   70
y Aber Perydon ny mat doethant.
anaeleu tretheu dychynullant.
naw vgein canhwr y discynnant.
mawr watwar namyn petwar nyt atcorant.
dyhed y eu gwraged a dywedant.   75
eu crysseu yn llawn creu a orolchant.
Kymry kyneircheit eneit dichwant.
gwyr deheu eu tretheu a amygant.
llym llifeit llafnawr llwyr y lladant.
ny byd y vedyc mwyn or a wnaant.   80
bydinoed Katwaladyr kadyr y deuant.
rydrychafwynt Kymry kat a wnant.
lleith anoleith rydygyrchassant.
yg gorffen eu tretheu agheu a wdant.

on the bank, destroying and charging;   55
with immense armies they will test each other
and about the hill (there will be) blades and cries and
      thrusting—
and about the Wye, shout answering shout across the shining
      water,
and (men) leaving behind their banners and fierce attacking;
and like (food for) wild beasts the Saxons will fall.   60
The supporters of the Cymry will form orderly ranks,
their van to (their enemy's) rear, the 'pale-faces' will be
      hard-pressed (?),
the stewards in payment for their lies will wallow in their
      (own blood),
their army all blood-stained about them.
Others on foot will flee through the forest: 65
through ramparts of the fortress the 'foxes' will flee;
war will not return to the land of Britain;
they will slip back in sad counsel like the (ebb of) the sea.

  The stewards of Caer Geri will lament bitterly,
in valley and on hill, some do not deny it—   70
not fortunately did they come to Aber Peryddon,
afflictions are the taxes they will collect.
Nine score hundred men, they (will) attack—
What a mockery! only four (hundred?) will return.
They will tell the disastrous tale to their wives;   75
they will wash their shirts full of blood.
The supporters of the Cymry (will be) reckless of their lives:
the men of the South will fight for their taxes,
with keen whetted blades they will strike thoroughly:
no surgeon will get much profit from what they do.   80
The armies of Cadwaladr will come bravely;
let the Cymry attack, they will do battle,
they have sought inescapable death,
as an end to their taxes, they[1] will know (only) death.

[1] i.e. the English.

ereill arosceill ryplanhassant.   85
oes oesseu eu tretheu nys escorant.

Yg koet ymaes [ym bro] ym bryn.
canhwyll yn tywyll a gerd genhyn.
Kynan yn racwan ym pop discyn.
Saesson rac Brython gwae a genyn.   90
Katwaladyr yn baladyr gan y unbyn.
trwy synhwyr yn llwyr yn eu dichlyn.
Pan syrthwynt eu clas dros eu herchwyn.
yg custud a chreu rud ar rud allmyn.
yg gorffen pop agreith anreith degyn.   95
Seis ar hynt hyt Gaer Wynt kynt pwy kynt techyn.
gwyn eu byt wy Gymry pan adrodynt.
ryn gwarawt y trindawt or trallawt gynt.
na chrynet Dyfet na Glywyssyg
nys gwnaho molawt meiryon mechteyrn.   100
na chynhoryon Saesson keffyn ebryn.
nys gwnaho medut meddawt genhyn.
heb talet o dynget meint a geffyn.
O ymdifeit veibon ac ereill ryn.
trwy eiryawl Dewi a seint Prydeyn.   105
hyt ffrwt Ailego ffohawr all[myn].

Dysgogan awen dydaw y dyd.
pan dyffo Iwys y vn gwssyl.
Vn cor vn gyghor a Lloegyr lloscit.
yr gobeith anneiraw ar yn prydaw luyd.   110
A cherd ar alluro a ffo beunyd.
ny wyr kud ymda cwd a cwd vyd.
Dychyrchwynt gyfarth mal arth o vynyd.
y talu gwynyeith gwaet eu hennyd.

They afflicted (?) others . . .   85
never again will they (be able to) round up their taxes.

  In forest and on plain, on hill (and dale)
a candle in the darkness goes with us:
Cynan striking foremost in every attack;
the Saxons will sing their lamentation before the Britons, 90
Cadwaladr will be a shaft of defence with his chieftains,
skilfully and thoroughly seeking them out,
when their people will fall for their defender (?)
in affliction, with red blood on the foreigners' cheeks:
as an end to all defiance, immense booty.   95
The English will flee straightway to Winchester as quickly as
     possible.
Happy will be the Cymry when they say
'The Trinity has delivered us from our (?) former tribulation;
let neither Dyfed nor Glywyssing tremble:
it will not bring praise[1] to the stewards of the Great King   100
nor the champions of the Saxons, though they be fierce (?);
no more will intoxication bring them enjoyment at our cost
without inescapable payment for as much as they obtain
in orphaned and famished children.   104
Through the intercession of Dewi and the saints of Britain
the (foreigners) will be put to flight as far as the river Ailego (?).

  The *Awen* foretells, the day will come
when the men of Wessex will come together in council,
in a single party, of one mind with the Mercian (?) incen-
     diaries,
hoping to bring shame on our splendid hosts,   110
and the foreigner(s) will be on the move, and daily in flight:
he does not know where he will travel, where go, and where
     remain.
They[2] will rush into battle like a bear from the mountain
to avenge the bloodshed of their fellows;

---

[1] Lit. 'make praise', i.e. 'they will have nothing to boast about'.
[2] The Welsh.

Atvi peleitral dyfal dillyd.   115
nyt arbettwy car corff y gilyd.
Atui pen gaflaw heb emennyd.
Atui gwraged gwedw a meirch gweilyd.
Atui obein vthyr rac ruthyr ketwyr.
A lliaws llaw amhar kyn gwascar lluyd.   120
Kennadeu agheu dychyferwyd.
pan safhwynt galaned wrth eu hennyd.
Ef dialawr y treth ar gwerth beunyd.
ar mynych gennadeu ar geu luyd.
Dygorfu Kymry trwy kyfergyr.   125
yn gyweir gyteir gytson gytffyd.

Dygorfu Kymry y peri kat.
a llwyth lliaws gwlat a gynnullant.
A lluman glan Dewi a drychafant.
y tywyssaw Gwydyl trwy lieingant.   130
A gynhon Dulyn genhyn y safant.
pan dyffont yr gat nyt ymwadant.
gofynnant yr Saesson py geissyssant.
pwy meint eu dylyet or wlat a dalyant.
cw mae eu herw pan seilyassant.   135
cw mae eu kenedloed py vro pan doethant.
yr amser Gwrtheyrn genhyn y sathrant.
ny cheffir o wir rantir an karant.
Neu vreint an seint pyr y saghyssant.
neu *rei*theu Dewi pyr y torrassant.   140
ymgetwynt Gymry pan ymwelant.
nyt ahont allmyn or nen y safant.
hyt pan talhont seithweith gwerth digonsant.
Ac agheu diheu yg werth eu cam.

there will be spear-thrusts in a ceaseless flood,   115
no friend (of ours?) will have pity for (?) the body of his
    opponent.
There will be heads split open without brains,
women will be widowed, and horses riderless,
there will be terrible wailing before the rush of warriors,
many wounded by hand; before the hosts separate   120
the messengers of death will meet
when corpses stand up, supporting each other.[1]
The tribute and the daily payments will be avenged—
and the frequent expeditions and the wicked hosts.
The Cymry will prevail through battle,   125
well-equipped, unanimous, one in word and faith.

The Cymry will survive (?) to order battle
and they will assemble the people of many lands;
they will raise on high the holy standard of Dewi,
to lead the Irish by means of a linen banner (?).   130
The foreigners of Dublin will stand with us—
when they come to battle, they will not deny us.
They will ask the Saxons what it was they had been seeking,
how much of the country do they hold by right?
where are their lands, from whence they set forth?   135
where are their peoples? from what country do they come?
Since the time of Gwrtheyrn they have oppressed us:
not rightfully will the inheritance of our kinsmen be won.
—Or why have they trampled upon the privileges of our
    saints?
Why have they destroyed the rights of Dewi?   140
When they come face to face with each other, the Cymry will
    take care
that the foreigners shall not go from the place where they
    stand
until they repay sevenfold the value of what they have done,
with certain death in return for their wrong.

[1] i.e. the press will be so great, that there will be no room for the
dead to fall.

ef talhawr o anawr Garmawn gara*n*t.   145
y pedeir blyned ar petwar cant.

Gwyr gwychyr gwallt hiryon ergyr dofyd.
o dihol Saesson o Iwerdon dybyd.
Dybi o Lego lyghes rewyd.
rewinyawt y gat rwyccawt lluyd.   150
Dybi o Alclut gwyr drut diweir
y dihol o Prydein virein luyd.
Dybi o Lydaw prydaw gyweithyd.
ketwyr y ar katueirch ny pheirch eu hennyd.
Saesson o pop parth y gwarth ae deubyd.   155
ry treghis eu hoes nys dioes eluyd.
dyderpi agheu yr du gyweithyd.
clefyt a dyllid ac angweryt.
Gwedy eur ac aryant a chan*h*wynyd.
boet perth eu disserth ygwerth eu drycffyd.   160
boet mor boet agor eu kussulwyr
boet creu boet agheu eu kyweithyd.
Kynan a Chatwaladyr kadyr yn lluyd.
Etmyccawr hyt vrawt ffawt ae deubyd.
Deu vnben degyn dwys eu kussyl.   165
deu orsegyn Saesson o pleit Dofyd.
deu hael deu gedawl gwlat warthegyd.
deu diarchar barawt vnffawt vn ffyd.
deu erchwynawc Prydein mirein luyd.
deu arth nys gwna gwarth kyfarth beunyd.   170

Dysgogan derwydon meint a deruyd.
o Vynaw hyt Lydaw yn eu llaw yt vyd.
o Dyuet hyt Danet wy bieiuyd.
o Wawl hyt Weryt hyt eu hebyr.

The kinsmen of Garmon will be paid back with vigour (?)
the four hundred and four years.   146

Valiant long-haired warriors, adept in fighting,
will come from Ireland to expel the Saxons.
From Lego (?) there will come a rapacious fleet;
it will devastate (?) in battle, it will rend the hosts.   150
Brave faithful men will come from Alclud
to drive them from Britain, splendid hosts;
a brave company will come from Brittany—
warriors on war-horses, they will not spare their enemies.
Shame will befall the Saxons on all sides: 155
their time has passed, they have no country.
Death will come to the black host,
sickness and flux (?) and shame (?).
After (enjoying) gold and silver adornments (?)
let a bush be their refuge, in return for their bad faith.   160
Let sea and anchor be their counsellors—
Let blood and death be their companions.
Cynan and Cadwaladr, with splendid hosts,
will be honoured till Judgement Day: success will be theirs.
Two overpowering lords of profound counsel;   165
two conquerors of the Saxons, in the cause of God;
two generous lords, two noble raiders of a country's cattle;
two ready fearless ones, one in fortune and in faith;
two defenders of Britain, with splendid hosts;
two bears to whom daily fighting brings no shame.   170

Wise men foretell all that will happen:
they will possess all from Manaw to Brittany,
from Dyfed to Thanet, it will be theirs;
from the Wall to the Forth, along their estuaries,

Llettawt eu pennaeth tros yr echwyd.   175
Attor ar gynhon Saesson ny byd.
Atchwelwynt Wydyl ar eu hennyd.
rydrychafwynt Gymry kadyr gyweithyd.
bydinoed am gwrwf a thwrwf milwyr.
A theyrned Dews rygedwys eu ffyd.   180
Iwis y pop llyghes tres a deruyd.
A chymot Kynan gan y gilyd.
ny alwawr gynhon yn gynifwyr
namyn kechmyn Katwaladyr ae gyfnewitwyr.
Eil Kymro llawen llafar a uyd.   185
Am ynys gymwyeit heit a deruyd.
pan safhwynt galaned wrth eu hennyd.
hyt yn Aber Santwic swynedic vyd.
Allmyn ar gychwyn y alltudyd.
ol wrth ol attor ar eu hennyd.   190
Saesson wrth agor ar vor peunyd.
Kymry gwenerawl hyt vrawt goruyd.
Na cheisswynt lyfrawr nac agawr brydyd.
Arymes yr ynys hon namyn hyn ny byd.
Iolwn i ri a grewys nef ac eluyd.   195
poet tywyssawc Dewi yr kynifwyr.
yn yr yg Gelli Kaer am Duw yssyd.
ny threinc ny dieinc nyt ardispyd.
ny wyw ny wellyc ny phlyc ny chryd.

their dominion will spread over Yr Echwydd.   175
There will be no return for the tribes of the Saxons:
the Irish will return to their comrades.
May the Cymry rise up, a fair company;
hosts about the ale-feast, and the noise of warriors,
and God's princes,[1] who have kept their faith.   180
The Iwis will take to their ships, commotion will cease;
there will be concord between Cynan and his fellow.
The foreigners will not be called warriors,
but the slaves and hucksters of Cadwaladr.
The sons of the Cymry will be merry and loquacious;   185
as for the afflictors of the Island—a swarm that will pass
        away.
When corpses stand up, supporting each other
as far as the port of Sandwich—may it be blessed!
The foreigners (will be) starting for exile,
one (ship) after another, returning to their kinsmen,   190
the Saxons at anchor on the sea each day.
The Cymry, believers (?), till Judgement day will be victorious;
let them not seek a sorcerer, nor a greedy poet:
there will be no Prophecy but this for this Island.
Let us beseech the Lord who made Heaven and Earth,   195
may Dewi be the leader of our warriors.
In straits it is the heavenly fortress (?) and my God who is
        (leader):
He will not die, He will not escape, He will not retreat,
He will not fade, reject, nor waver, nor (will He) diminish.

[1] Cynan and Cadwaladr?

NOTES

1. dygogan, prophesies, foretells. *s* has been written above the *-yg-* in fainter ink; cf. below ll. 17, 107, 171, *dysgogan*. But in BT 70. 16–17, where the first four lines of the *Armes* form the introduction to another prophecy, the form is *dygogan*. In BT 74. 26, 77. 18, *dysgogan*; 75. 5, *dyscogan*; BBC 49. 3, *discogan(a)we*; 51. 9, *disgogan*; 53. 4, 54. 7, *disgoganafe*; 55. 8, *discoganaue*; 58. 10, *disgoganaue*; 62. 15, *dysgo-ganawe*. The two prefixes *dy-wo* are contracted to *dy-o* and then to *do-*, exx.: *dodrefn, dosbarth, dolef*; whereas *di-wo* gives *dio-*, exx.: *diogel, dioddef*. In OW, cf. the glosses in Ox. 1, *diguolouichetic* (VVB 102); OBr. *doguolouit, doguorennnam, douohinuom, douolousé* (VVB 109, 112) [these readings have been corrected following Fleuriot, DGVB]. In the *Eutyches* section of Ox. 1 is found *doguohintiliat, doguomisuram* (VVB 109); in Ox. 2, *dowomisurami* (VVB 113). Which pair of prefixes is present in *dygogan*? I incline to think *dy-wo-*. In tenth-century orthography both were written as *di-guo-* (since *i* was used for both *y* and *i*) and this caused trouble to later copyists. Consider the list in CA 406 of words in *dy-go-, dywo-, dyo-*; there is not one in *di-go-, diwo-*, cf. below *dy-go-bryssyn*; l. 13 *dygoganher*; and *dy-gor* in *dygorfu* ll. 125, 127 (cf. Ox. 1, *diguormechis* VVB 103; B v. 237).

In MBr. Ernault gives *dioueret* (= ModW *diofryd*), *diouguel* (= ModW *diogel*), and *diougan* 'promise, threaten, prophesy', GMB 173. This last corresponds to the word in the text, but it does not prove necessarily that *di-* is the first element in it.

One might argue that the *-s-* in the form *dys-* is the infixed pronoun, see CA 129 on *ermygei* and *erysmygei*: or else it is the prefix *-ex-*. Therefore it is possible that *disgogan* is a new formation on the analogy of words like *distaw*: to avoid ambiguity the prefixes have been altered, and the emphasizing *dis-* has taken the place of *dy-o*, so that there should be no confusion with *di-ogan*, 'reproachless', cf. the way in which *gollewin, goddiwes* were altered to *gorllewin, gorddiwes*.

Note that the first *g* in *dygogan* is merely a survival of OW orthography, as in the glosses given above. The sound was *dy-o-gan*, a trisyllabic word, as is shown by the metre: syncope had not yet taken place.

[In G 417–18, 429, J. Lloyd-Jones suggests that the forms with and without medial *-s-* may represent two separate but synonymous verbs, and lists them accordingly.]

[**awen** 'poetic gift, genius or inspiration, the muse' (GPC) is a word still current in ModW, but its nuances are virtually untranslatable in English (to render it by 'muse' is to introduce irrelevant associations). *Awen* originates in the common Celtic inheritance of technical terms associated with poetry, which are attested in Welsh and in Irish alike; cf. its Irish cognate *ai*, which in the oldest texts is precisely similar in meaning to the Welsh word (see Contrib. 'A', 88). In both languages, the poet's 'inspiration' implied occult knowledge, and hence the ability to foretell the future. The *Armes* is composed throughout in a disjointed and exclamatory style, which fully accords with the traditional language of vaticination, and is in this respect reminiscent of the archaic Irish prophecies which have survived among the verse-passages composed in the alliterative metres. Professor Calvert Watkins has discussed the meaning and common derivation of *awen* and *ai* in *Celtica* vi. 215–16. In the poem, *awen* is used here and in l. 107 below, in a manner parallel to the use of *Myrdin* in l. 17 (see n.), and of *derwydon* in l. 171 (see n.).]

dygobryssyn. Old Welsh orthography for *dy-o-frysyn(t)*, a compound of *brysio*, with the old termination of the 3 pl. pres. indic. in *-yn(t)*; GMW 120. Cf. ll. 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, below. [In all these instances the verbs are future in meaning.]

2. genhyn. 1 pl. pronominal form of the preposition *gan*; see GMW 60. Analogous forms occur in the 1 pl. with other prepositions: *amdanan(n), attan(n), arnan(n), rhagon*; see GMW 58, 59; RP 1176. 41; 1177. 1; MA² 222a. 40; cf. also the verbal form *iben* (= *yfem*) in the Juvencus, B vi. 107.

The line should therefore be understood as referring, not to the promised deliverers, but to the Welsh themselves. The deliverers are on the way, and therefore *we*, the Welsh, will receive wealth and peace, etc., as described in the next two lines.

3. pennaeth. Used now for a lord or chieftain, but earlier also for 'lordship'. The meaning is ambiguous in l. 38 below, but in l. 175 it is certainly 'lordship'; cf. also BT 54. 17, py (= ry?) ledas y *pennaeth* dros traeth mundi; 29. 3–4, dedeuant etwaeth . . . *pedeir prif pennaeth* (here fem. as in RP 579. 10, *y bennaeth* yn llaw howal); H 96. 23–4, hyd aeron yt aeth | *y bennaeth* o bennmon; MA² 181b. 38, Ny symmut y *bennaeth*. In BBC 54. 13, *penaetheu* bychein anudonauc, the plural is equivalent in meaning to ModW *penaethiaid*: so also in RBB 272, vchtrut uab etwin, a howel uab Goronw, a llawer o *bennaetheu* ereill gyt ac wynt. Cf. Irish *cenn* 'head', *cennacht* 'headship, supremacy' (fem.), (Contrib. 'C', 128).

In combination with *ehelaeth* in the text, although the meaning could be 'generous chief' (CA 102), I prefer the other alternative. It was not a great prince who was expected, but an enlargment of the boundaries of Wales and of the authority of the Welsh, cf. ll. 171–5 below.

ffraeth, ready, see CA 88. Here the allusion is to the readiness of

the leaders (*unbyn*, pl. of *unben*, see l. 91) to give, rather than their readiness to speak.

4. **anhed,** cf. the double meaning of Eng. *settlement*. In l. 42 below, *Saesson yn anhed* means 'having settled down' in Wales. In HGC 142, mudassant argluydi powys . . . ac eu *hanhedeu* ganthunt hyt ar gruffud; 152, gossot y *anheddeu* ae vileinllu ar gwragedd ar meibeon yn drysswch mynyddedd Yryri (cf. BT 75. 4, diffeith moni a lleenni. ac eryri *anhed* yndi): one would hardly transport houses, even wooden houses, from place to place. The Breton cognate *annez* has developed the meaning of 'furniture, gear'; *anneza* 'to furnish'; *annezer* 'furniture dealer'; and movable dwellings in this sense can therefore mean furniture and gear of every kind, cf. PKM 56, na thy nac *anhed*; H 44. 16 (in ref. to Llangadfan) ny chollir oe thir nac oe thewdor *annhet* | troetued yr *dyhet* dihawt hepcor; MA² 477b (aethant i'r) dyffeythwch yn y lle yd oedynt y *anhedeu* yn eu haros; = RBB 45, yn y lle ydoed yr *anreitheu* ar gwraged ar meibon, = BD 7, yr *anhedeu* a'r gwraged a'r meybyon.

The *a* at the beginning of the line is metrically redundant, and can be disregarded. Alternatively, read *hed* instead of *anhed* (cf. RP 585. 7, ympop *hed* gwled a gyuyt), which presents a more satisfactory antithesis to *dyhed*.

mehyn, dim. of *ma* 'place', cf. BT 11. 4, 21. 4, 43. 1, 61. 15, 76. 1; RWM i. 395, kat ymob *mehyn*. Cf. Irish *maigen* 'a spot, place' in the widest sense, *di maigin* 'on the spot, immediately' (Contrib. 'M', 31–2) corresponding to Welsh *yn y fan*, *yn y lle*. In an old glossary (Cy. ix. 332) we find *Meyn* 'lle (place)', 333 *Mehyn a men yw lle*.

5. **gwychyr,** perhaps disyllabic; cf. CA 132; G 728.

kasnar. The meaning is unknown. *Cassnar* occurs as a man's name, PKM 27, *Cassnar Wledic*, and there are occasional allusions to this character by the Gogynfeirdd and in RM (see G 115; PKM 162). The bards were fond of introducing the names of historical and legendary heroes into their praise of contemporaries, e.g. H 112. 7 ff, where Cynddelw describes the Lord Rhys as having the energy of *Teyrnon*, the nature of *Unhwch*, and the passion of *Matholwch*: this causes uncertainty as to the meaning of lines such as the following, which occurs in the same *awdl*: 'na dala uar *casnar* cas hetwch' (l. 20). Is this the personal name, or is it a common noun? In MA² 161a. 7 (H 132. 9), at the end of Cynddelw's elegy for Cadwallawn fab Madawg, 'As deupo *casnar* kar kyngreinyon . . . *Cadell* Brython . . . yg kein adef (nef) nawt eggylyon', the obvious meaning is 'May Cadwall-awn receive the protection of angels in Heaven: *he was a man like Casnar and like Cadell*'. That is to say, the name *casnar* is used as equivalent to the name of another famous warrior, just as names such as *Eigr* and *Luned* came to be used generally to denote any beautiful girl. MA² 283b. 5–6 can be understood similarly: y dechreu

oed *wychuryd casnar* | y diwet boed y duw trugar: that is, at the be-ginning of his life he was a man of high aspirations like Casnar (i.e. proud and warlike), but may his end be different (i.e. may he receive God's mercy). It seems as though Casnar was proverbial for his love of war, cf. above H 112. 20, casnar *cas hetwch*. What is the meaning in CA ll. 1367–8, Kynvelyn *gasnar* | ysgwn bryffwn bar? CLlH 1. 17 (an englyn which is textually imperfect in the *Marwnad Gwen*) also contains this word. If it were to be emended as

> Dy leas ys mawr (gawdd)
> *Casnar* nid câr a'th laddaw(dd)

it would give good sense and at the same time present an antithesis between *câr* and *casnar* (= a cruel enemy?) If this reading is accepted, I see nothing against taking *Casnar* as a man's name, and *casnar* as a common noun, to be synonymous. The word is more of an adjective than a noun, but it can be used as a name, cf. *Taliesin, Talhaearn, Gwynn, Penwyn*. This would mean rejecting the explanations given for it in the old glossaries (Cy. vii. 202, ix. 332; B i. 324), in which it is translated by words meaning 'anger, battle', as well as 'lord'; and also the meanings given by Loth, RC xlii. 79, 'combat, mêlée, carnage, trouble', and those given in G 115, 'llid, gofid, poen' ('anger, battle, pain'). All these depend on the reading 'dy leas *ys mawr casnar*' in the above englyn, which leaves the line too short by two syllables. I do not know of any other example which seems to require an abstract meaning for *casnar*.

In the text, *kasnar degyn* is a compound adj. used to describe brave men in battle. It is not necessary for the first word in such a compound to be an adjective, cf. l. 95, *anreith degyn*, or better still, RP 584. 4, rieu *ryuel degynn* 'lords steadfast in war'. A suggestive example occurs in CLlH xi. 10, Cyndylan, *Gulhwch gynnifiat*: here the personal name forms the first element in the compound—Cynddylan was a warrior *like Culhwch*. The personal name has itself almost become an adjective. This may be the case in *kasnar degyn* also—these were warriors *like Casnar*, one who was famous for his merciless ferocity. It is only going a step further to make *casnar* into a full adjective: 'fierce', or 'angry, ferocious' as is suggested in G 115. Whether the personal name meant this in the first place is another matter, since there is no agreement as to the meaning of *cas* in a name like *Cas*wallawn, or on that of *nar* (see CA 182). But all the allusions agree in making of Casnar Wledig a stubborn, ferocious warrior. His aura adheres to the word for ever; cf. the use of the name *Nero*—or *Judas*.

6. **gofut.** The forms *gofud* and *gofid* both occur in old manuscripts (see PKM 157, CLlH 74).

ryhyt, cf. MA² 183a. 7, Caru guyt yn *ryhyt* yn ruy; 245b. 5, Kuluyd an goreu ni ac an gueryt | Argleitryat vab rat *ryhyt* | O garchar bu ef

a gyrchuys y arvedyt (RP 1145. 34, o garchar *ryhyt*. o garchar); RP 1143. 12–13, Rygellynt gallem agcredu, yg kryt byt *ryhyt* ryuedu. In the first example, *ryhyt* seems to mean 'very long' (of time)—to love sin too long and too much—in the second, Christ delivers his people from their long imprisonment. For *rhy* with a similar force (not 'too', but 'very') cf. *rhy-hwyr, rhwyr*, 'very late, high time' in dialect. In the text, these men are praised because they defended their position to the last, 'men very stubborn in defence'. Their alacrity in attack is contrasted with their tardiness in retreat.

7. gwaethyl gwyr, old orthography for *gwaethlwyr* 'fighters, warriors'. On *gwaethl* see J. Lloyd-Jones, B iv. 221; G 270, on *kywaethyl*.

    Caer Weir, cf. BT 69. 12, Ergrynawr Cunedaf . . . yg *kaer weir* a chaer liwelyd. In *Y Beirniad* vi. 208, I suggested that Caer Weir is Durham, on the river *Wear* (Ptolemy's *Vedra* developing regularly into Welsh *Gweir*; see B xi. 82).

    gwasgarawt, fut. 3 sg. (GMW 119; LP 279). Possibly for *gwasgarawnt* (3 pl.), taking as the subject the men who are described in ll. 5, 6, and the *gwaethlwyr* in this line. Cf. *gwnahawnt* in next line.

    allmyn, foreigners, here the English. The word is composed of *all* 'other' as in *allfro* (cf. l. 111), *alltud*, ar-*all*, and *myn*, pl. of *mon* 'man', as in *porthmon, porthmyn; hwsmon, hwsmyn*. Later it was regularly affected to *ellmyn*. Just as the English labelled the Cymry as Welsh, or 'foreigners', so they are paid back here by being called the same thing themselves, in a name that is half Welsh and half English. The second element appears again (with greater scorn) in *kechmyn*, ll. 40, 184; *kychmyn*, l. 27.

8. gwehyn, see B i. 113. A word meaning 'to drain (water), pour it out, empty, exhale, breathe out': it translates Lat. *haurio*. It is used in the sense 'to destroy utterly, to lay a country bare of everything', cf. CA 287; BT 70. 23; 76. 2, a gofut am *wehyn*; BBC 53. 5. In the text rejoicing is promised after a period of lamentation, or one of devastation.

9. [**Kymry**, pl. of *Kymro* (l. 185) < *Combrogos* 'fellow-countryman'. This derivation was first proposed by Sir John Rhŷs (*Celtic Britain*², 139–40, 143–4). If I. W.'s dating of the early poetry be accepted, the numerous instances of the name *Kymry* in the *Armes* are among the earliest on record (the only exceptions being those in the *Moliant Cadwallawn*, B vii. 24–5; in CLlH i. 39a, ii. 2c; and possibly that in BT 31. 11–12,—i.e. in another early prophetic poem, whose date is discussed by I. W., *Chwedl Taliesin*, 22–3). The 'fellow-countrymen' originally denoted the inhabitants of Wales and of Cumbria; see Phillimore's note, Cy. xi (1892), 95–101, for tenth- and eleventh-century instances in which *Cumbri* unmistakably denotes the Strath-clyde Welsh. The name is unknown in the older poetry of Aneirin

and Taliesin, in which the Welsh are always called *Brython*. But in the *Armes* we have sixteen instances of *Kymry* as against three of *Brython* (see Index to Proper Names, p. 86). The latter is here employed in the widest sense to denote *all* branches of the Brittonic Celts, the nation as a whole. Until a comparatively recent date, *Cymry* was used both of the people and of the country; the earliest instance recorded in GPC in which the new form *Cymru* is employed to differentiate the country from the people, belongs to the sixteenth century.]

    gwyr Dulyn. This means the Norsemen who had settled there; they are described in l. 131 as *gynhon Dulyn*.

10. Gwydyl Iwerdon, the inhabitants of the rest of Ireland, cf. l. 130.

    Mon. A suggestion that the Irish were in Anglesey at that time, unless perhaps *Mon* is used here for the Isle of Man. In favour of the first alternative is a brief reference in *Annales Cambriae* under the year 902, Igmunt *in insula mon* uenit. et tenuit maes osmeliawn. See Lloyd, HW 330, 'In 902 the Celtic element won a temporary triumph over the Scandinavian in Ireland; Dublin was cleared of its heathen folk, and very many of them, under the leadership of one Ingimund, made their way to Anglesey, intending, no doubt, to found a new settlement in the island. They were stoutly resisted by the inhabitants and forced to look elsewhere for a foothold, which they ultimately found, if an Irish account is to be trusted, in the neighbourhood of Chester' (see also his footnote). Note the reference in BT 67. 14, Ton *iwerdon*, a thon *vanaw* a thon *ogled*. A thon *prydein* toruoed uirein yn petwared. Here the form is *Manaw*, not *Mon*, and the allusion is certainly to the Isle of Man. Also in HGC 104, it is claimed that the grandfather of Gruffudd ap Cynan was king of Dublin, and also of *enys vanaw . . . a mon . . . a gwyned* (see note, p. 159). The allusion is worth noting, although it refers to a later period than the *Armes*, because it does not allow of any confusion between Môn and Manaw. Cf. also RBB 261 [= Br. Tywys. 10], where it is said 'Ac y diffeithwyt Iwerdon a *mon* y gan bobyl Dulyn' ('Ireland and Anglesey were destroyed by the men of Dublin')—in a section which refers to the years between 910 and 920; cf. AC for the details. It shows there was need for the reconciliation referred to in l. 9.

    Prydyn. The Irish name for the Picts of Scotland was *Cruthni*, sing. *Cruthen*, and *Cruthne* was the name of their country. The name of the people corresponds to *Pryden* in Welsh, and this form is attested by the rhyme in CA l. 475, gwydyl a *phryden* (sic leg., see note: the rhyme is in -*en(n)* throughout the stanza). Compare *enys brydein*, CA l. 153 (rhyming in -*ein*), a name derived from *Britannia*. *Pryden* and *Prydain*, as the name of the people, are perpetually confused in texts, and also in pronunciation. *Pryden* for the people seemed

too much like a singular, and by analogy with words such as *Llaen*, *Lleyn*; *myharen*, *myheryn*, a new plural *Prydyn* was formed, as here. The allusion is to Scotland, and to the Irish who had settled there. Below, in l. 67, it is quite certain that by *tir Prydyn*, *Ynys Brydain* is meant, or at least the southern part of it; in l. 105, seint *prydeyn* (rhyming in -*yn*) means the saints of the whole island, although the bard used the form *Prydyn*. In ll. 152, 169 *Prydein* occurs twice (rhyming with *mirein*), denoting the island. [On *Prydyn* and *Prydein*, see K. Jackson, *Scottish Historical Review*, xxxiii (1954), 16–18.]

11. Cornyw, the men of Cornwall. [This is the only recorded occurrence of this spelling; elsewhere it is always *Cernyw*; G 136.]

Cludwys, the men of Strathclyde, in southern Scotland. Below, in l. 151, their chief city, *Alclud* or *Allclud*, is mentioned: this is Dumbarton.

eu kynnwys. See the discussion of verb-noun constructions by Henry Lewis, B iv. 179–89, and especially 185–9; GMW 163–4. It is used here as a passive, 'will be received'. On *cynnwys* 'receive with welcome' see G 259, CA 162, CLlH 101; BT 67. 17, Creawdyr celi an *kynnwys* ni yn trugared; with *gan*, BT 68. 22, Hael archaedon *gan* egylyon cynwyssetor; 54. 15, y nef *kynnwys genhyt*. It has also the sense of 'making room', as in WM 171. 34 ac y graessawawd hi peredur yn llawen ae *gynnwys* ar y neillaw. In Gwynedd '*Cynnwys!*' is used as a command to a cow to move up in the byre and so to make room for the person milking her. In the Laws, when the ninth man comes to ask for land, and his claim to it has expired, the law may give him *cynnwys*, or 'make room' for him on special terms; cf. AL i. 172.

12. atporyon, pl. of *attpaur* in BBC 35. 12, HGCr 1. 12. In Rhys Goch's satire of Siôn Cent (IGE 185. 36), reference is made to *atborion clêr* 'the remnants of the poets'; RP 1208. 12 (after the poet has lost his protector), neut atwed kerdawr . . . neut atueil bueil . . . neut *atboryon* Mon; 1049. 33 (in a prophecy), Gorffit vrythyon (= *Brython*) yn *atporyon* arantyrron gywethyd; GBC 96 (in a satire of the fox), Llyfaist *adborion* droppion drippa. The meaning is something like 'remnants', an allusion to the state of the Britons, enervated by war and oppression, and with their best men killed. Cf. G 46.

[*Attpaur* may be compared with *adladd* 'aftermath, after-grass' (GPC), i.e. the crop which grows up after the first mowing; cf. Eng. 'after-grass' and 'after-pasture'; Irish *athbronnad* 're-grazing, after-grass' (Contrib. 'A', 450). Hence *attpaur* 'what grows up after the first grazing'. In this sense, therefore, the meaning would be 'renewed, revived' or '(that which) springs up again, rises again'. This interpretation gives better sense and better force to the line, as well as providing a more striking image: I have therefore translated accordingly. I am indebted to Professor Foster for this suggestion.]

Brython. Here pl., as is shown by the pl. verb. [See note to *Kymry*, l. 9.]

dyorfyn. [For the forms of this verb see GMW 146–7; on the meaning see note to l. 125 below.] On the absence of -*t* in the 3 pl. ending, cf. ll. 1, 13, 16, 17, etc.

13. pell ('far') is used of time as well as of place; cf. l. 27; CLlH 106.

dygoganher. For *dy-go-* in OW orthography, see note on l. 1. The termination -*her* is the impersonal form of the pres. subj., which is often used with a future sense (WG 324, 339; GMW 113); cf. BBC 2. 6; 5. 5, 6; 6. 1; CLlH vi. 30: Da y dirieit ny *atter* (= ni *edir*; cf. WM 456. 19, ny atter y mywn); B iii. 256, 8, hit ni ri tarnher; 10, hit ni ri *tarner*.

[But in the context a past tense seems to be required, if *dy(s)gogan* has here its ordinary meaning of 'to prophesy', and *dygoganher* should therefore perhaps be emended to *dygoganhet* (= -*ed*), subj. imperf. pass. 'was prophesied'. For the possibility of a similar confusion between -*et* and -*er*, see note to *tardet*, l. 25 below, and to *gyrhawt* (= *gyrhawr*?), l. 28; and cf. GMW 129. As an alternative possibility, Professor Mac Cana suggests to me that *dygoganher* here may bear a less restricted meaning than is usual, and could be translated 'will be long spoken of, commemorated'. He compares Irish *for-cain* 'teach', which can also occasionally mean 'prophesy'. Such a meaning would be apt in the context, and would be consistent with the use of the verb in a future tense.]

amser, cf. BT 42. 19, Ac *amser pan* wna mor mawr wrhydri. To be taken with *dygoganher*.

dybydyn (= *dybydant*, GMW 133), consuetudinal pres. or fut. Cf. CA l. 144, ef *dybydei*.

14. teyrned, trisyllabic; cf. BT 45. 26, *tegyrned*, where the OW orthography has been kept.

abonhed. Neither in BT nor in the poetry in the Red Book can I find a single example of *bonhedd* in its later sense of 'nobility, nobles', and this is confirmed by G 70, which gives 'ach, tarddiad, neu dras aruchel', i.e. '(noble) descent' as the consistent meaning in the old poetry. One must therefore read *a* in the sense of *o* ('princes of noble descent'), turning *bonhed* into *vonhed*, or else change *abonhed* into *anvonhed* 'anfonedd' (as adj. 'churlish, dishonourable, despised'; used in l. 33 below for the English); cf. l. 40, *pan uyd kechmyn danet an teyrned*; or else take *bonhed* with *eu gorescyn*. I believe that the last alternative is the best, since it does not require the alteration of a single letter in the text. Take *teyrned* as the predicate of *dybydyn*. For a long time there has been a prophecy about the time when the two princes (Cynan and Cadwaladr) will come to take possession of their territory by right of descent.

bonhed. In D, 'nobilitas, ortus, origo'; WML 81, *Bonhed* gwenyn o paradwys pan yw. ac o achaws pechawt dyn y doethant odyno. The primary meaning is 'origin, beginning'; cf. Irish *bunad* 'origin, stock, growth', *bunadas* 'origin, source', CIL 291.

gorescyn. The ordinary meaning 'to conquer' does not fit here, but cf. the meaning of the word in Dyfed, according to D, *possessio, possidere*; WML 53, Tri *chamwerescyn* yssyd: gwerescyn yn erbyn y perchennawc oe anuot a heb vrawt. Neu werescyn trwy y perchennawc ac yn erbyn y etiued . . . Neu werescyn trwy wercheitwat ac yn erbyn y iawn dylyedawc oe anuod a heb varn; AL i. 138, 139 n. *gorescin* 'a term used for taking possession of land to which a person is entitled'. The *Armes* belongs to south Wales, and one must therefore follow the usage of the south in considering its language. The meaning of *bonhed eu gorescyn* in the context is the basis, or claim, which the two princes would have to take possession of this country, that is of the whole Island of Britain; cf. BT 76. 6, Y prydein yna y daw datwyrein. brython o vonhed rufein. This is the ultimate meaning behind the later use of the word *brut*—to trace the Britons back to Brutus. [The claim of the Britons to be descended from Brutus (and therefore of the venerable stock of the Trojans) may have been in the poet's mind, since this claim is already made in the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius.]

15. Gwyr Gogled. The men of Rheged, Strathclyde, and Manaw of Gododdin, who lived in the north of England and southern Scotland, were called *Gwŷr y Gogledd*, the 'Men of the North'. For their genealogies, see Wade-Evans, *Arch. Camb.* 1930, 339; [EWGT 73, TYP 238–9], and RP 1050. 1–3, where there is mention of Urien Rheged, and of the *tri theyrn ar dec o'r gogled*, the 'thirteen princes of the North'.

yg kynted, i.e. in the most honourable place in the hall, see PKM 131.

yn eu kylchyn, cf. l. 64, 'about them'; see G 230. The idea is that the Men of the North will be present as allies in the courts of Cynan and Cadwaladr, receiving great honour there.

16. perued. Cf. BT 25, 1, ef lladei a *pherued* ac eithaf a diwed 'he struck in the middle, the furthest point, and the end'—alluding to the different parts of the enemy's army.

racwed. The force of the *rac-* is clear enough, but *-wedd* is ambiguous. It is used to form both abstract and concrete nouns, cf. *blaenwedd* 'summit' (G 57; RBB. 41. 33, or diwed y deuai ar *vlaenwed* goruchelder anryded); *olwedd* 'residue' (B vii. 373, y gwlybyreu ereill pan eu dineuer . . . wynt a adawant ryw *olwed* yn y llestr; that is, they do not flow out of the vessel completely, but leave a small residue behind). Therefore *rhagwedd* could mean 'precedence' or the like, 'supremacy, special honour'. In CA ll. 1014–19, Porthloed vedin . . . a

llu racwed en ragyrwed en dyd gwned yg kyvrysed, Mynyddawg's *gosgordd* or retinue is alluded to as the harbour or refuge of the army, and as the *llu racwedd* or troop which led the van in battle, the place of greatest honour (see note, CA 311). The poet Cynddelw (RP 1165. 21) addresses himself first to God, and in the second place to Tysilio, a ganwyf y'm rwyf *o'm racwed* 'which I may sing to my king from my eminence (?)'; meaning perhaps, because of his great honour for him. The allusion is again to God in BT 4. 10, pell pwyll rac *rihyd racwed*: the meaning of '*rhihydd*' is royal splendour or majesty, and this is strengthened by *racwed*. The exact meaning in the text depends on how *discynnyn* is to be understood.

discynnyn. In the old poetry, *disgyn* can have its ordinary meaning 'descend' and also certain other meanings such as 'attack, make for' (see G 371 for examples of each). In l. 73 below, the meaning is 'to go to battle'; in l. 89, Cynan leads the van (fights in the front) in every *disgyn* 'attack'. Since *racwed* is also a word that is used for a troop or host, I suggest that we should interpret this passage as meaning 'the Men of the North will march to battle in the forefront of the Welsh army, side by side with the nation's picked warriors, in the place of greatest honour'.

17. dysgogan, see note to l. 1.

Myrdin. A special prophecy concerning these events is attributed to Myrddin in the following lines. But which Myrddin, Myrddin Emrys or Myrddin Wyllt? In favour of the first is the allusion in l. 18 to *Aber Peryddon*; see Introduction, section VI; where it seems that Geoffrey is either referring to the *Armes* itself, or to a very similar prophecy.

[On the allusion to Myrddin in the text, see TYP 469, 472, and on the question of Myrddin's historicity, see my note, B xxi. 33. Giraldus Cambrensis was the first writer to make a distinction between *Merlinus Ambrosius* (*Myrddin Emrys*) and *Merlinus Sylvester* (*Myrddin Wyllt*). The reason for this lay in the differences between the story of Merlin's life as presented in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum* and the story indicated by the early Welsh poems, as these are reflected in the same writer's *Vita Merlini*.]

kyferuyd hyn. In the manuscript, *kyferueyd*, with a point of deletion under the second *e*. Read *kyferuydhyn*, fut. 3 pl. of *cyfarfod*; see G 202, and cf. l. 54 below, *kyferuydyn*. The subject, *meiryon*, comes in the next line.

18. Aber Perydon. [See Introduction, section VI.] It is clear that this river was somewhere on the border of Wales, in the path of the *meiryon* (stewards) who would come from *Caer Ceri*, i.e. Cirencester. In RWM ii. 844 J. G. Evans quotes a passage from Panton MS. 37, giving an account of the Battle of Chester, in which *afon Beryddon* is clearly intended to denote the river Dee. The editor then cites a note

by John Jones Gellilyfdy, 'Etto i mae Ptolemaeus yn ei galw hi
Dyfrdeu yn y flwyddyn 140. A hefyd y mae enw arall ar yr afon yma
. . . sef *Aerfen*'; i.e. the river-name *Dyfrdwy* (Dee) is recorded as
early as Ptolemy in the second century. [On *Aerfen* as a variant name
for the Dee see J. Rhŷs, *Celtic Folklore*, ii. 441.]

   meiryon, pl. of *maer*; cf. the gloss *merion* in Juvencus on *actorẹs*, pl.
of *actor* 'agent, overseer', 'perhaps so called as collector of revenues'
(Andrews). There is also a Breton gloss *meir* (*actores* templi), another
pl. of *maer*; Whitley Stokes, *The Breton Glosses at Orleans*, no. 79
[DGVB 253]. In Ox. 2, *mair* glosses *praepositus*; VVB 180. For the
form cf. *bardd, beirdd, beirddion*; *saer, seiron* (BT 1. 30).

   mechteyrn, great king; here the king of England [Athelstan]; see
B x. 39–40 [TYP 71–2] for a discussion of *mechteyrn*. In BT 41. 4,
54. 14, God is described as *mechteyrn*.

   [Similarly, in a triad, TYP no. 33, Aneirin is *mechteyrn beirdd*
'Great Prince (or 'High King') of Poets'.]

   Both here and in l. 100 below, *-yrn* is rhymed with *-yn* (from
-ynt, -ynn); cf. also the internal rhyme in l. 27. According to the
system of 'Irish rhyme' (so-called because its use by the earliest Welsh
poets is similar to the usage in Irish poetry), *r* could rhyme with *n*: so
that the rhyme here between *-yrn* and *-ynn* is permissible; cf. the
rhymes in the famous englyn in the hand of Ieuan ap Sulien, bishop of
St. David's (1071–89), in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS. 199,
between *trylenn, treisguenn, Cyrrguenn, Patern* (*National Library of
Wales Journal*, ii (1941–2), 69). In BT 41. 4, there is a similar rhyme
between *bryn(n)* and *mechteyrn*. [See above, p. li introduction.]

19. vn reith. Cf. l. 47 below, and *reitheu*, l. 140; Irish *recht* 'law,
statute', Breton *reiz*: Eng. *right* and Lat. *rego, rectus*. The common
root has developed numerous meanings in different languages: there
is the meaning of 'straight, correct', the meaning 'to stretch', and of
course the strictly legal meaning. There are also the meanings of
rule and order, to rule and to lead, custom and manner; cf. the
different meanings of Eng. *rule*, a *ruler*, *erect* and *direct*, *order*. In
BT 9. 9, among the Pleasant Things of Taliesin, we find '*reith* a
pherpheith neithawr' ('a legal (?) and perfect marriage feast'): in the
Laws, *rhaith* is the name given to a number of men who go on their
oath that the accused person is innocent (GML 259 'compurgation,
body of compurgators'); a *rheithiwr* was one of their number. To Dr.
Davies in 1632, *rhaith* was 'iusiurandum, iuramentum' (oath): but
subsequently it has become usual to employ the compound *cyf-raith*
to denote 'law' in Welsh.

   In 47 below, it is said that both high and low lament in *un rhaith*.
It must mean 'in the same manner', everyone saying the same thing,
like a body of compurgators in a court of law. The text may be under-
stood here in the same way; here also the complaint is one which is

common to everyone—that is, death (*lleith*), though not everyone dies
in the same manner. The whole line may be understood as standing
in parenthesis: it is the poet's curse upon the stewards.

20. ewyllis, see PKM 199, for the various endings of this word,
in *-is, -us, -ys, -wys*.

   bryt. The line is too long, and this word may be omitted; alter-
natively delete *yd* as in l. 51 below, since *ewyllys bryd* may be an idiom
similar to *ewyllys calon*.

   ymwrthuynnyn, compound of *gwrthfyn* which means (i) receive,
welcome, and (ii) receive in battle, oppose (G 716). Which of the
two meanings is present here? Since the language of prophecy is
intentionally obscure, it is difficult to say (cf. ll. 2 ff., where one can
only guess who it is that is alluded to).

   According to l. 71, it would appear that Aber Peryddon is the
furthest point reached by the stewards in their journey: there will be
a battle there, and they will be driven back in shame and dishonour,
with great losses. They will have reason to bemoan death (19). Then in
l. 20, with a single will *yd ymwrthuynnyn*, 'they will receive (each
other)'. This can hardly mean they will greet each other in friendly
agreement. It is better, therefore, to take the word in its second sense
'to give battle', cf. *lladd* and *ymladd*. If ll. 19 and 20 are taken in
reverse order, however, the development of thought is clearer. The
stewards will come, they will fight, they will lament death. They will
try to fulfil their office as stewards, which is to collect taxes, in face
of fierce opposition by the Welsh. That is why the subject comes
first in l. 21, then the object, and the verb last.

22. ketoed, pl. of *ced*; 'gifts' makes no sense here, but it is possible to
understand it as meaning 'treasuries'. Alternatively, Lloyd-Jones
(G 119) suggests emending to *katoed* in the sense of 'hosts'. They
were taxes which none of the Welsh intended to pay—or which it was
not worth their while paying—see l. 24. [Another possibility would be
to understand *oed* in a modal sense, and to interpret the line 'in the
treasuries of the Cymry there would not be anything which they would
pay'. Cf. l. 49 below, where a similar modal sense is possible.]

23. yssyd. [= *yssit?*, see GMW 141–2 and G 62a for the suggestion
that *yssyd wr* = *ys gwr*.] Here it is emphasized that it is a lord—a *gwr
dylyedawc*, or nobleman—who speaks these words.

   a lefeir hyn, who says this, i.e. what is stated in l. 22, and perhaps
also in l. 24. They were taxes which none of the Welsh were prepared
to pay at that time, nor would there ever be one among them who
would submit to paying them in the future, he said.

24. yg keithiwet, i.e. by compulsion and against the privilege of
free men. [On the whole line, see Introduction, pp. li–lii.]

25. Mab Meir, cf. l. 45.

mawr a eir, *mawr o eir,* lit. 'great *of* word', i.e. 'a great word', cf. PKM 115, *ys glut a beth.* The 'word' here is not, however, the statement that is quoted in l. 24, because this same phrase occurs in l. 45 where it comes at the beginning of a new section. It should be taken as referring to Christ, and to the authority of the divine Word, rather than to the Virgin Mary in virtue of her powerful intercession (cf. DGG xlvi. 37, *myn Mair air aren*—a similar oath). If it were this last, one would expect *mawr* to be lenited; cf. *Gwyn.* 3. 29, Da *Fair loiw-air*: 30, *Fair ddawnair.*

pryt na, cf. l. 45 below; WG 435, GMW 244. Usually 'when (since) . . . not'; 'seeing that . . . not' [cf. *Owein* 50]. The meaning is usually temporal, but in this instance there is more of a sense of exclamation and surprise—something like 'O God, how was it that (they) did not burst forth?' The Irish cognate of *pryd* is *cruth,* which can be used by itself in OI as a conjunction (see GOI 546) 'how, as', as an abbreviation of the usual *in chruth* 'in the form, manner'.

tarde[r], see CA 180-1, 351, *tarddu,* Breton *tarz,* Cornish *tardh*: 'split, break forth, crack, burst'—these are the primary meanings. The verb is followed by *rac* both here and in l. 45. The meaning is clearer in the latter instance, with *Kymry* as subject, and *rac goeir* as the predicate following: the poet marvels that the Cymry did not burst forth against their enemies because of the shame and humiliation; cf. YCM² 54, llidyaw a wnaeth y brenhin yn diruawr y ueint—*breid na holldes.* So here, it was a wonder that they did not break forth because of the oppression and arrogance of the English. [On the impers. imperf. ending in -*et* see GMW 126. In his introduction, p. li above, Sir Ifor states that the MS reading, *tardet,* should here be emended to *tarder* (pres. subj. impers.) to give 'Irish' rhyme between final -*er* and -*ed(d)* in the following lines. I have adopted this suggestion, and have translated accordingly.]

27. pell bwynt. Cf. ModW 'Pell y bônt' 'May they be far!'; *pell* is here used in its ordinary sense denoting distance; on *bwynt* see *bot* in glossary.

kychmyn, emend to *kechmyn,* as in l. 40. In reply to the 'boasting' of the English, the most degrading status possible is attributed to them.

y Wrtheyrn Gwyned. Perhaps the original reading of the line was *Pell bwynt kychmyn gwrtheyrn*; it would then be easy for a copyist to change the beginning of the personal name into *y wrth,* the preposition which is used regularly after *pell* (*y*) *bo* (cf. YCM² 136, *Poet pell y wrthyf* kywilyd kymeint). If *Gwrtheyrn* is restored, it has also the advantage of giving alliteration with Gwyned (but see note on l. 28).

Gwrtheyrn Gwyned. [For Welsh references to *Gwrtheyrn Gwrtheneu* ('G. the Thin') or Vortigern, who first invited Hengist and

Horsa and the Saxons into Britain, see TYP 392-6.] In Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* (ch. 40), it is said that after *Guorthigirnus* had been cursed by St. Germanus, he invited magicians to visit him; and the advice of these was that he should build a fortress in the furthest corner of his dominions, to defend himself from the Saxons. After a futile search throughout the country to find a suitable place 'he came in the end to a land which was called *Gwynedd*' (ad regionem vocatur *Guined*), and tried there to erect a fortress among the mountains of Eryri (Snowdon). The story of the fighting dragons which follows is well known, and of the little boy *Ambrosius* (later, in Geoffrey's account, *Merlinus*), who overcame the magicians and won *Dinas Emrys* (= 'the fortress of Ambrosius'—near Beddgelert) for himself. In the end it was necessary for Gwrtheyrn to wander far southwards to the bank of the Teifi (ch. 47), and build *Caer Gwrtheyrn* there. For his connection with *Gwrtheyrnion* (between the Wye and the Ieithon) see HW 253-4, HB ch. 47.

[In an article entitled 'Nennius's "Regio Guunnessi"', *Trans. Caernarvonshire Historical Society,* 1963, 21-7, Professor Melville Richards cites the evidence of onomastics and of local tradition which favours the early localization of the story of Gwrtheyrn's death at *Nant Gwrtheyrn* in Caernarvonshire, where Pennant records the discovery of a stone coffin in a tumulus known as *Bedd Gwrtheyrn.* This tradition, which may well be early, would account for the epithet *Gwrtheyrn Gwyned* (which occurs nowhere else) in this line.]

Notice the 'Irish rhyme', -*myn,* -*yrn* (for which see note to l. 18).

28. ef gyrhawt. This could be the fut. 3 sg. of vb. *gyrru* (GMW 119); with *ef* 'he will drive'. But if so, who is the subject? Not Gwrtheyrn, certainly: he never put the Saxons to flight, and I know no reason to suppose that the poet would have thought he was likely to do so. *Mab Meir,* l. 25, is too far back (or else one might compare l. 41, where *Trindawt* is the subj. of *gwrthottit*). If we read *ef gyrhawr,* with *r* instead of *t,* and *ef* like the pre-verbal particle *fe* (GMW 172), the allusion could be to the manner in which Hengist and Horsa left their country. According to Nennius, when Gwrtheyrn was ruling in Britain, and in constant fear of his enemies—of the Picts, the Irish, the Romans, and of Ambrosius—it so happened that three ships came to land in Britain, and in them were the two brothers Hengist and Horsa. Their ships are called *ciulae,* 'keels', and it is said that they came from Germany, and that they had been forced into exile (interea venerunt tres ciulae a Germania *expulsae in exilio*). Gwrtheyrn received them kindly, and gave them the island which in their language is called *Tanet* (HB ch. 31). Afterwards he employed them to fight against his enemies. This is the account given by the Welshman, Nennius, and it is this account which was followed by the author of the *Armes,* not that of Bede, who says that

Wyrtgeorne *sent* for the Saxons (HE c. xv, *Tunc Anglorum sive Saxonum gens invitata* a rege praefato, in Brittaniam tribus longis navibus advehitur). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (under 449) follows the account of Bede, but instead of saying that Wyrtgeorne invited the *gens*, or the whole nation of the Saxons, it says that he invited Hengist and Horsa, and it does not say that they had three ships. In the twelfth century, Geoffrey of Monmouth keeps nearest to Nennius' form of the story; he mentions the three ships, and says that Hengist and Horsa and their soldiers had been exiled from their country because the population had increased too much—they were not expelled as a punishment for any crime, but they were chosen by lot; as for the two princes themselves, it is claimed that they were of royal descent. They offered themselves as mercenary soldiers to Vortigern. [On the historicity of these references, see now D. Kirby 'Vortigern' B xxi, 37 ff.]

Since the *Armes* continually emphasizes the low status of the English and the nobility of the Welsh, it is fitting that it should begin reviling the English by stating that they came as exiles to Britain, that they were homeless wanderers and beggars, who had been driven out of their own country. The next lines, 29–34, indicate the progress of their conquest. *Gyrhawt* can be understood as synonymous with *gyrrawr* (cf. GMW 121), and the meaning is the same if this form is kept, 'they are (will be) driven'. I believe that there is no difference between -(h)awt and -(h)awr in some texts; cf. RP 584. 41, torredawd geir a chreireu | (eu) *diuanwawt* gwir *lletawt* geu. The meaning is the same in 585. 2, *diuannwawr* gwyr *lletawr* gwat. (Or cf. RP 1028. 22, hyd *hellawt*, where -awt is attested by the rhyme. Since the reference is to stags, it must mean that they 'are hunted', rather than that they 'hunt').

29. arhaedwy, 3 sg. pres. subj. *arhaeddaf* used as fut., G 42. See PKM 197, and cf. Breton *dirhaes* 'reach', GMB 175. There are other compounds—*dihaeddaf, cyrhaeddaf,* as well as the simple verb *haeddu* (cf. W-P ii. 481–2, on *haeddel*). In the text 'no one will have them'.

dioes, cf. l. 156 (again referring to the English) nys *dioes* eluyd 'they have no land'—the same point as is made here; BT 37. 1 (to the Wind) ny *dioes* eisseu gan greaduryeu; 21. 9, pan yw rud egroes neu wreic ae dioes; RP 582. 24, A chiwtawt plant adaf . . . A *dioes* gwaret hyt urawt; G 363 explains *dioes* as meaning 'amgyffred, adnabod, cadw', etc., i.e. 'to comprehend, recognise, keep'. I prefer to understand it as the equivalent of MBr. *deueux*; 1 sg. *am eux*; 2. *az eux*; 3. *en deveux, he deveux* 'he has, she has'; see Lewis, *Llawlyfr Llydaweg Canol,* 46–7. In the text it is to be understood as 'they have no land'—i.e. they are displaced people, landless. [On *dioes* cf. further CT 38 (= PT 42), where the parallel form pres. subj. 3 sg. *difo* is explained as coming from *di-fod* 'to have'.] For the half-rhyme in *-ar, -er,* cf. CLlH 1. 13a *dywaes, las, was.*

30. py. The meaning here is 'Why?'; see GMW 76–7 n. for further examples.

31. Danet, the island of Thanet in Kent. See Nennius, HB ch. 31, Guorthigirnus suscepit eos benigne et tradidit eis insulam, quae in lingua eorum vocatur *Tanet,* Brittanico sermone *Ruoihm,* 'Gwrtheyrn received them kindly, and gave to them the island which in their language is called *Tanet,* but in the British tongue, *Ruoihm.*' (Variants of the two names are *tanett, thanet, tenet: ruichum, ruoichim, ruoichin, roihin, ruimh*). Note that in the poem the word has radical *D-.* Is this the result of lenition after *Ynys*? But cf. *Deodric* in Nennius for *Theodric,* the son of Ida.

fflet, cf. l. 52 below. RP 1164. 1–2, Brenhin gogonet . . . ny cheit oe barthret na *phlet* na phla; 1355. 10 (in a satire of Madawg), tristgorn risc fflotyatwisc *fflet;* MA² 208a. 9–10, Yssym eur ac aryant nyd *fled*; 34, Ac or pryd y prouaf nad *fled* | Nath adws yessu eissywed. Loth's explanation will not do (ACL iii. 40); 'deceit' or 'falsehood' is preferable. The Breton *fled, fletenn* 'a bed on the floor' is a different word; with it, cf. Sweet, *Dict. Anglo-Saxon, flett* 'floor': *flettrest* 'bed'.

called. I believe that there are two separate words, one of which denotes growth, wood, 'stalks' (cf. CA 331–2), while the other is a noun derived from *call* 'skilful, crafty, cunning'; cf. MA² 223a, a llu o Ffreingc ffyr *ffrawdd galledd.* I do not see that it is necessary to identify the two (as is done in G 99; on *ffrawdd* see CA 339). Here, with *fflet* 'through crafty deceit, false cunning'.

32. Hors a Hegys. The names are given in the same order by Nennius, *Hors et Hengist* [as also in the Triads. See TYP 406–7 for refs.].

yng eu ryssed. On *rhysedd* see CA 351–2. The Saxons were straitened (cyf*yng*) when they came here first; or, in North Wales dialect, 'yr oedd hi yn *fain iawn* arnynt' 'it was very *lean* on them'. There is consonance between *yng* and *Heng-* in He(n)gys(t).

33. y wrthym, i.e. 'oddi wrthym' 'from us, at our expense'. Cf. GMW 200–1.

anuonhed, see note to **bonhed,** l. 14 above. The word is not here a noun (as in G 27), but an adj. 'ignoble'.

34. rin, cf. cyf-*rin*-ach 'secret, mystery', and *rhin*-wedd, D 'arcanum, secretum', and also 'mos, ingenium, qualitas, virtus'.

dilein, cf. 42, verb-noun of *dileaf,* see CA 285. The corresponding noun is *dileith,* PKM 148, and this would perhaps suit better here, to rhyme with *keith.* I believe that *rin-bilein* (or *rin-bileith*) refers to the Slaughter of the Long Knives, as told by Nennius, i.e. slaughter accomplished through treachery.

ymynuer, see PKM 249, BT 61. 16 (= PT vii. 21), kat yn ryt alclut kat *ymynuer;* BBC 88. 4–6, kyuo(e)thauc duu douit. a p*e*ris

lleuver lleuenit, hael *vynver* heul in dit. The last example shows that *mynver* is applicable to the sun, either because of its flashing light and splendour, or else because of its form, a complete circle. The two examples recall the gloss *minn* in Martianus Capella on *sertum* (VVB 186); Irish *mind* (Windisch: W 691, 'insigne, diadema'; Contrib. 'M', 144 'a crown, a diadem'); on this last see Loth, RC xliv. 362–8, and the references there.

The second element in *mynfer* is *ber* (cognate with Lat. *fero*, Eng. *bear*), cf. lleu-*fer*, which is used for a lamp, and also for light, PKM 283. *Mynuer* may sometimes mean one who wears a diadem or coronet (cf. *caeawg*, CA 69; *taleithyavc*, TYP 37), sometimes the crown or coronet itself. In BBC 88, *hael vynver heul* means the sun beneath its flashing crown of glory, like a crowned prince. In the text here it is said sarcastically that the Saxon *ceith* or 'slaves' now wear the crown: the *y* is the predicative particle, so that *ymynuer* is equivalent to *yn fynfer*; 'churls now wear a crown'. There is a clear echo of the same sentiment in Siôn Cent's poem (IGE² 267):

> Nid ym un fonedd heddiw
> A'n galon, *hil gweision* gwiw:
> Nac un gyff, iawn y gwn gur,
> A Hensist a Hors hensur.

('We are not of the same nobility today as our enemies, a fair race of slaves; nor of the same stock—well do I know the grief— as sour old Hen(g)ist and Hors.')

The Welsh were nobly born, and of noble pedigree: the English were an ignoble race of slaves—that is the key which is struck from the time of the *Armes* down to that of Siôn Cent, and afterwards.

35. dechymyd. The word occurs again in 36, 39, and in older orthography in 37, *decymyd*, with *c* for *ch*. I am uncertain as to the meaning. It introduces four out of five statements which lead up to l. 40, *pan uyd kechmyn Danet an teyrned*, but in its place we find *dychyfroy* at the beginning of the fourth, and that suggests that the words are synonymous. In the first statement there is a reference to drunkenness and to a lot of drink. If *dechymyd* is a verb, and is used to relate the two things together, the meaning must be that to drink much mead *causes* drunkenness, or produces it, or leads up to it. The order in this line is therefore verb, object, subject. In the next line *dechymyd* is used with *angen* 'want', and with 'many deaths'. This is ambiguous; it could mean that want causes many deaths, or that many deaths lead to want. In the third statement, we have *anaeleu* 'pain, grief', and women's tears. Which is the subject here? Women's tears sometimes lead to war and suffering, but the other way round is more natural, that suffering should cause women's tears. Then there comes *dychyfroy* with *etgyllaeth*

'sadness, grief', and then a lord or government which is half-barbarous. The order here is certainly verb, object, subject: a cruel government causes sorrow, not the opposite—sorrow producing a cruel government. Then there comes *dechymyd* with *tristyd* and an obscure clause, *byt a ryher*, which can be taken as equivalent to *pennaeth lletfer* in the preceding line, since *etgyllaeth* and *tristyd* are synonymous. Then the whole passage is closed with 'when the English are lords over us'.

Silvan Evans gives *dechymyd* under *dychymod* 'to agree or accord with, to be consistent with, to be usual': he quotes the text, and also the proverb 'Ni *ddygymmydd* medd a chybydd', 'Mead is not usual with a miser'. To him, the form is a pres. 3 sg. of a compound of *bod*. This may be so, but the ordinary construction requires *â* or *ag* with *cymod* (see G 236) and *dygymod*, and there are no instances of *a* in any of the lines referred to. Another verb is therefore required. One signifying 'to mean, entail' would give a suitable sense in these lines, and the same order in each. Much mead-drinking means drunkenness, then (following the same construction—verb, object, subject) many deaths mean that there will be widows and orphans in want; the meaning of women's tears is tribulation; where there is barbarian oppression there is grief; and where the world is out of joint and the slave in authority, it means, just as certainly, that griefs will flourish and proliferate.

I am unable to associate this verb with OBr. *cemidiet* which glosses Lat. *concidit* 'break up, destroy, slay' ([DGVB 101], VKG ii. 461–3), and hence with the compounds of *ben-* in Irish, since it is the form of the word alone, and not the meaning, which corresponds; see ZCP 21. 300. The Breton form may be associated with *ysgymmyddio* (equated with Lat. *trunco* and *obtrunco* 'strike, slay, decapitate' by TW) and *ysgymmydd* (equated by TW with *subiculum* 'chopping block') or *ysgemmydd* (which D renders by *scamnum* 'bench'). See GG 352, [TYP 42–3], for examples and discussion.

meddaw is the reading of the manuscript. Emend to *meddawt* in order to rhyme with *wirawt*, cf. 102. On *gwirawt*, see CA 116.

37. anaeleu, cf. 72. For *anaele* D gives 'dolor, noxa', but all his examples give the form *anaeleu*, as in 'Llaw pawb ar ei *anaeleu*' (cf. Pawb a'i fys lle bo'i *ddolur*, 'Everyone feels his own sorrow'); GDG 91. 25, Gweau *anaelau* o nych; RP 1217. 32, a phechawt y cnawt cnwt *anaeleu* (with rhyme in -*eu*) = MA² 315b, cnut *anaeleu*. In *Hirlas Owein* (MA² 191b, = RP 1434. 20), when the prince realizes that he has lost two of his chief warriors, he breaks out: Ochan Grist, mor drist wyv o'r *anaeleu* | O goll Moreitig mawr ei *eissieu*. G gives *anaele* 'grief'; and *anaeleu* as an adj. 'terrible', as a noun 'grief, sorrow'. 'Sorrow' or 'affliction' is the meaning in the text.

38. dychyfroy, old orthography for *dychyffrwy* or a variant of it (like *moe* in the *Llyfr Ancr* for *mwy*); cf. BT 29. 19–20, rac rynawt tan

dychyfrwy mwc; B iv. 46. 39, *dychyffruy* kenhyf yg kyman | peleidir guyr go ieithin unbaran (modernized in B vii. 28. 37 to *Dychyffry* cynnif yn ghyman). The verb also occurs in BT 43. 21, Aduwyn gaer yssyd ae *kyffrwy* kedeu (see Cymmr. Trans. 1941, 74: 'There is a fine fortress resounding with songs (?)'). This last is the only example of *cyffrwy* in the work of the *Cynfeirdd*, and G 222 suggests for it 'cynyddu, amlhau, cynnull(?)'; 'increase, extend, collect'.

The simplest derivation of *ffrwy* is from **sp(h)reig-*, W-P ii. 683, a root which means 'to swell', and is found in Gr. *sphrigaō* 'to be full to bursting, to be plump and full, to swell with pride'. This would suit in BT 43. 21, if we read the following word either as *cedeu* 'gifts' or *cer(d)eu* 'songs'. The fortress is full to overflowing with both the one and the other. The verb is transitive, as is *dychyffrwy* in the text: the meaning could be that oppressive rule means that there is widespread affliction in the country. In BT 29. 30, where the verb is intransitive, it may be translated 'to swell' in a very similar way; where there is a great fire there will be abundance of smoke, or more exactly 'puffs' of it (comparing the manner in which the English 'puff' is used both for smoke, and also for a swelling). There is a similar double meaning in the root **sp(h)ereg-*, 'to be full to overflowing, to swell', and also, like the simple root **sp(h)er-*, 'to scatter, disperse, jump up'. From this comes the Eng. *spring*, and, from another form of it, *ffrwst* in Welsh. It is not unsuitable to speak of smoke as 'jumping up' or 'springing (from)'. This brings us to *cyffro* 'jump up', and we may note how B iv's *dychyffruy* is modernized in B vii to *dychyffry*, pres. 3 sg. of *dychyffroaf* in B vii. In the text, *etgyllaeth* 'sorrow' is the object of the verb, see G 222 on *cyffro* and the examples of its occurrence with various words denoting grief, *cawdd, galar, dolur*. Cf. also RP 1056. 6, *dychyffre* gwaew gwaetlin: the verb here may directly represent the root **sp(h)ereg-*. (G 408 renders *dychyffrwy* by 'taenu, gwasgar', 'spread, scatter'.)

pennaeth lletfer, a government or kingdom which is cruel, oppressive, barbarian. The meaning of *lled-* is 'partly, semi-'; *ffer*, 'strong', fierce', CA 172; CLlH 88. In HGC 110, *lletfer* translates Lat. *ferinus* (for the passage, see Introduction, p. xliv above).

39. tristit, old orthography for *tristyd*, rhyming with *byt*.

ryher, perhaps for *reher*, pres. subj. impers. of *rhe*; cf. *dy-re*, *atre, pelre, olrheaf, dwyreaf*, CA 252, Lloyd-Jones, B iv. 53; Loth, RC xlvi. 218–19, and cognates such as Lat. *rego*, Ir. *regaid*, and Eng. *reach, rack*. The meaning required by the context is that of a world overturned; everything gone awry, slaves turned into princes, and so on. Alternatively, it may be for *ar y her* ['in transition, in a state of flux'?] (from **ser-* 'to flow, rush, run'; cf. note to l. 68 below).

41. gwrthottit, equivalent to *gwrthoded*; cf. WG 329, § 177, 2. ii, GMW 129 for the form. The meaning is 'Let God ward off the

blow that is intended'—that is, the destruction of Britain, as in the next line.

pwyller, equivalent to *pwyllir*; for the meaning here, cf. CLlH 135.

42. y dilein. Even if *y* is omitted, the line is too long; but cf. the length of l. 110. The plan is to destroy the land of the Britons, and afterwards for the English to settle down to live in it (*yn anhed*).

43. reges, see *Y Beirniad*, 1916, 213 [and the examples collected in ZCP v. 570–1]; a borrowing from Lat. *recessus* (parallel to *aches* from *accessus*, CLlH 74) 'a going back, retiring, retreat, departure', the opposite to *accessus*; so used of the *ebb* of the tide (Andrews). May the English return into exile sooner than that the Welsh should be without their own land.

44. diffroed, *di-froedd*, cf. B ii. 128, 130, 'exile, solitude, sadness'; on *difro* see CLlH 141 [TYP 424], 'homeless', then 'foreign, exiled', afterwards 'sad'.

45. Mab Meir, cf. 25.

terdyn, see note to l. 25. [The verbal ending could equally well be fut. as imperf. indic.]

46. goeir, *go-air*, cf. 50: the meaning is very near to that of *an-air*, 'shame, infamy', though the Irish cognate *fogur, foghar* 'sound, speech', etc. (Contrib. 'F', 240) has not the same significance. But cf. the use today of *gair gwan* 'low repute', the opposite of *geirda*.

breyr, or *brehyr*; see G 76, 'uchelwr, arglwydd', 'lord'. Cf. AL i. 350, LlB 5. 12, Tri ryw dyn yssyd *brenhin* a *breyr* a bila(e)n ac eu haelodau; *breyr* is explained by the editor as a 'mote-man', 'a baron': according to the note, LlB 168, *breyr* corresponds in the usage of the South to *uchelwr* 'nobleman' in the Venedotian code; the first is very common in LlB, but the second only occurs six times. According to Wade-Evans, WML 328, a *breyr* is 'a noble, representing a higher grade of the *bonheddig* or gentle class . . . in the early Latin texts it is represented by *optimas*, as bonheddig is by *nobilis*'. Note that this poem was composed by a man of south Wales, so that the occurrence of the word here is consistent with southern usage.

Breyr could come from a compound *brogo-rix*, 'king of the country', a form which Holder records as a Galatian name, and as part of another name, *Andebrogorix*, ACS 139, 621. I prefer this to Loth's suggestion, RC xl. 450, that it comes from **brīg-*. The second *o* has been affected by the long *i* in *rīx* to *y* (as in *Teudorix > Tudyr*; *Maglorix > Meilyr*, etc.), and the first *o* to *e* (as in *cyfegydd*, OW *cemecid*, cf. *ogi*, *cyfogi* 'to whet'). The *-h-* comes from *-gh- < -g-*, cf. the *h* in *mehyn* and the Gaulish *magos*.

vnbyn. Here used for nobles of a lower rank than the *breyr*.

47. kyneircheit (61, *kynyrcheit*; 77, *kyneircheit*), BT 5. 14, Seint . . . ketwyr neb (*nef*?) cu *kyneircheit*. G 263 gives two meanings for

the word, 'cynhrchydd', 'producer' (taking *cynyrchiad* as the basic form, and *cynnyrch* as the root), and 'follower' or 'member of retinue' —recognizing at the same time that in this meaning it may sometimes have the sense of 'suppliant', 'suitor'. Since *eirchiaid* 'suitors' was a common name for people who sought bounty from a lord (including the bards!), it would seem that the second meaning suits best here— something like the Lat. *clientes*; in general terms, the men of the court —not the lowest, but the highest of them in rank—that is the force of the *cyn-* or *cynt-* in the compound. In the text, the contrast intended is between them and their patrons, the *cyneilweit*—and it is this which determines the meaning. [Cf. D. A. Binchy, *Críth Gabhlach*, p. 80 and K. Jackson's discussion of the client or *céile* in early Irish society, *The Oldest Irish Tradition: A Window on the Iron Age* (1964), 9–10, 29–30.]

kyneilweit, from vb. *kynhelwaf* 'support, maintain'. See a discussion of all the various forms of the noun, CA 198; HGC 110, *a christ a vo audur a chynhelwr* ynn y henne ac nyt diana nac apollo: cf. the various meanings of Lat. *auctor* 'father, author, instigator, one by whose influence, advice, etc., anything happens or is done; a voucher, surety, witness, etc.'; Isidore, *Etym.* VIII. ix, Pythonissae a Pythio Apolline dictae, quod is *auctor* fuerit divinandi. So in HGC the meaning is that Christ, not Apollo, is the protector or 'patron' of the historian, one who inspires, supports, and helps him.

vn reith, see note to l. 19; 'everyone alike saying the same thing'.

48. vn gor. *Cor* has a number of meanings in Welsh, and as a help towards classifying them it is useful to compare the various meanings of *cor* in Irish, cf. CIL 486, 'a throwing, casting, putting; a cast, a twist, a plait, a turn, occasion; a stir, a moving; start, leap', and also 'a setting to music, melody, tune'. With the last, compare the musical terms in Welsh, MA² 1073, *coraldan, corsinsan* (cf. Ir. *siansa* 'harmony, melody, clamour'; *siamsán* 'merriment, noise, whizzing', *siansán* 'a buzzing or humming noise'). The book of Gruffudd Hiraethog gives *Cor Alun, Cor Elvyw, Cor Elvan,* etc., and these are sufficient to prove that *cor* has a musical meaning. Cf. also H 86. 21, nyd adwyd (*athwyd* = aethost) hebof *heb gof heb gor*, 'without memorial or song'. In regard to the present instance, Ll.-J. (G 163–4) is undecided between the meanings 'purpose, intention' (cf. *bwriad* from *bwrw*, whose basic meaning is 'to cast'), and 'turn' as in the compound *un-gor* (cf. *edafedd ungor*), cf. the meanings of Irish *cor* quoted above. To me, however, it is easier to understand *un gor* here as 'one song' (coming as it does between *un reith* and *un gyghor*), even though it can mean 'a single plait' when used of thread (D, Cadarnach yw'r edau yn gyfrodedd nag yn *ungor*, 'a thread is stronger twisted than in a single plait'). Nor is it easy to decide on the meaning of *cor* in *cyngor* 'council', since one might say that in these there is both

'noise', and often perplexity and 'turning about'. With the whole line, cf. BT 73. 1, Deu lu yd ant bydant *gysson*. yn *vn redyf vn eir kyweir* kymon; and in ll. 108–9 below, vn gwssyl, vn cor *vn gyghor*; l. 126, yn gyweir gyteir gytson gytffyd. Note *un-eir, cyt-eir; cyt-son*—compounds of *son* and *gair* which express perfect agreement. The meaning is the same in the text, when everyone is said (figuratively) to be 'yn *un gân*'; that is, 'unanimous'.

vn gyghor, i.e. here meaning 'counsel', not 'council'; everyone of the same opinion, unanimous in their decision.

eissor, see G 463. The word is frequently used by the Gogynfeirdd with the name of a warrior, as in MA² 140a, *eissor* Medrawd, 174b, Kaswallaun *eissyor*; *kyueissor*, G 207, 'one of similar nature, companion, equal'.

49. nyt oed yr mawred, cf. BT 24. 23, Bedw . . . bu hwyr gwiscyssit. nyt yr y lyfyrder. namyn *yr y vawred* ('the birch-tree was slow in arming, not out of cowardice, but *out of pride*'). [I interpret *oed* here as modal; cf. note to l. 62 below.]

nas lleferynt. In the following line *nas kymodynt* occurs in a precisely similar construction: in both cases the verb denotes the thing which they refused to do, cf. CA 100 on *kyn kystlwn kerennyd*, 'before starting to talk about peace'. The negotiations come first, and afterwards the truce. But the Welsh would not agree to either the one or the other. [Alternatively, the main verb in both lines may be understood as future; cf. the similar ambiguity in l. 45.]

50. yr hebcor (see note to l. 48 on *cor*), 'to spare, save, get rid of', D 'parcere, vt non necessarium relinquere, omittere'; Richards 'to spare, to leave anything as not necessary, to omit', but cf. RP 1244. 26, *Hepkor goror mor mon ny allaf* ('I cannot *avoid* leaving the shore of Môn'), 1390. 1, Ny *hepkoraf* y rwyf . . . yr delw eur ('I will not *take leave of* my prince . . .'); BT 66. 19, dydaw dy *hebcyr* (for the *ebb* of the sea); CLIH vi. 19b, O ebyr *dyhepkyr* tonn (see note, p. 167).

51. y Dduw, an early example of *dd*.

Dewi, invoked here as the saint of Deheubarth (or south Wales), cf. 105, 129, 196.

yd is metrically redundant, and may be omitted; cf. 20 and n.

52. talet, i.e. 'May God (or Dewi) pay back the foreigners for their deceit, and prevent their success', cf. 31 above, and n. on *fflet*.

53. gwnaent. In ModW this would be imperfect 3 pl., but in MW it is imperative, and *gwneynt* is used for the latter (GMW 130, 131). For instances of *-ent* as pl. imperative, cf. BT 11. 15, a digonwy kamwed *ymchoelent* y parthgled; PKM 15, *diskynnent* wynteu am ben y llys. I do not know what was the usage in OW, other than that *-int* was usually the ending of the 3 pl. pres. indic. (but cf. B v. 237 on *bint*).

The Breton gloss *roricseti* (VVB 212) appears to me to be a mistake for *roricse(n)t*, pluperfect 3 pl.—a form which usually corresponds with that of the imperfect pl. [This reading has now been confirmed by Fleuriot, DGVB 299.] If *gwnaent* here is imperfect, then 'they used to do'; if it is imperative, then 'let them do'. This last would be parallel to *talet*, *gwrthodet*, in l. 52, but I think that it gives a more probable meaning if we read *gwnaant* (pres. indic.) as in l. 80 below.

aneireu, pl. of *aneir*; cf. 46, 50 *goeir*. I hestitate as to whether the second element is *gair* or *nair* (cf. 110, *anneiraw*, the verb which corresponds) or *air* as in cyf-*air*, cyfeirio, gogyfair, cf. Ir. *comair*. For *nair*, cf. G 8, *adneir* 'reproach, blame, slander'; RM 185. 4 (= Owein, l. 615), nyt hawd gennyf i dy *atneiryaw* di yr hynny ('find fault with thee, blame thee'); BBC 24. 9, Nac *imadneirun* ('let us not reproach each other'); MA² 227a. 7, Einioes enryded . . . a geiff a gaffer yn *diatneir* (= di-fai 'blameless'); 315b. 8 (referring to Christ) brotyeu *diatneir* ('faultless judgements'); BrCl. 120, dechymygwn . . . y peth ny allo bot. ac erchi keisiaw hwnnw; a hwnnw ny cheffir byth. ac yvelly y bydwn *diatneir* nynheu; y wrth y brenhyn ('we shall be blameless before the king'). If it were possible to arrive at the simple meaning of *nair* without any preposition, it might be possible to reach a more satisfactory meaning for *Neirin*, *Aneirin*, than that suggested in CA lxxxvii.

In the text the meaning depends to some extent upon the mood of the verb. I suggest 'They are performing shameful acts'.

eisseu 'for want of', cf. CA 79, *gwerth* = *yng ngwerth*: a noun in the oblique case as the equivalent of the noun governed by a prepn., cf. note to l. 63 below, and WG 413–4.

trefdyn, from *tref* 'dwelling' and *dyn(n)*, as in ty-*ddyn*, Creu-*ddyn*, gwely-*ddyn*, llys-*dyn* (llystyn), and cf. Ir. *dind* 'height, hill, fortress, town'. There is a tendency for -*ef*- to become -*eu*- in some compounds, cf. *defnydd*, *deunydd*; *edef*, *edeu* (VVB 124, *etem*); in this way *trefddyn* became *Treuddyn* in place-names. (With regard to -*dynn* in the above compounds, it should be noted that the meaning of *tyddyn* in the Laws is 'a building', not a piece of land.)

55. y am (cf. *oddi am*); here read *am* (*am* lan *am*treulaw ac *am*wrthryn), cf. l. 58, *am* and *y am*; BT 8. 23–4, atwyn *y am* kyrn kyfyfet.

am lan, cf. CLlH i. 29c, Ac *am dwylann* Ffraw; xi. 71b, *y am dwylan* Dwyryw 'on both sides'.

ymwrthryn, from *grynn* 'to push, thrust', CA 92, B iii. 54–5. To be taken with *diruawr vydinawr* in the next line.

56. ymprofyn, cf. MA² 214b. 40, Ny chawsan genhyn . . . eithyr gwarth a *gwrthrynn* wrth *ymbroui*; H 99. 9, hud *ymbraw* am breityaw breisc nenn; WM 196a, arueu . . . ual y caffwyf *ymbrawf* ar marchawc (= Owein 743; RM 249, *ymbraw*). The idea is that each side will put the skill and courage of the other to the test in battle.

57. lafnawr, old orthography for *llafnawr* 'blades'. For the plural termination in -*awr* cf. bydin*awr* in l. 56 [GMW 28].

58. am Gwy, on both sides of the river Wye. OW orthography is preserved in the unlenited initial *G* of *Gwy* (cf. Nennius, HB ch. 70, flumen quod vocatur *Guoy*).

geir kyfyrgeir, shout answering shout. OW orthography is again represented by the *g* in *kyfyrgeir*; see G 215–16 for compound nouns in *cyfr*-, such as cyfrgoll. But cf. also *cyfergyr*, 'battle'.

peurllyn. This could be a mistake for *pennllyn*; but it is more likely that it represents *peuyrllyn* (*pefr*- and *llyn*). For *pefr*, see PKM 286, 'disglair, hardd, golau', 'shining, light, fair'. In MW orthography, -*y*- is found regularly before *f* and *r* in words of this kind (though this is not so in OW, cf. Cy. ix. 183, *dubr* duiu—for *Dwfr* Dwyw). Probably the original reading was *pebr* which gave *peur* in BT. *y am* here counts as two syllables.

59. lluman, cf. l. 129, some kind of banner or standard; D *llumman* 'vexillum, insigne, signum militare'; *llumbren* 'hastile vexilli', DWS 'a baner'; MA² 162a. 59, kochliw *luman*; 164b. 9, gwaed *luman* liw; 174a, Perchennauc parchus *luman*; 189a, Gnawd gan draws lyw maws *luman* archauad | yn aergad y ar gann; 211a, Llu racdaw a llaw ar *lluman*; 325, llommach | no *lluman* Llanferrais; Lewis, GMWL 205, *llumenitiah* 'ensignship' (var. *lumanyaeth*); RP 1053. 32, cur llauur *lluman*. *Lumangoch* gwnn vot; 1365. 9 (satire of a 'surcoat') hi a vu yn *lluman* cregyn lleumeirch; 1412. 18, tair *lluman* llydan o vlaen pob llu; Hen.MSS ii. 206, deuth y ryw processiwn yny erbyn yn gyw(e)ir o grogeu a *llumanneu* a thapreu cwyr. These examples show that the *lluman* was carried in the hand, on horseback, and lifted up in front of the army; RP 1365. 9, where a tattered cloak is satirically called a *lluman*, proves that the name included the brocade of the flag, and not only the shaft; this must also be the case in l. 130 below, where the banner of Dewi is described as *llieingant*. Such a banner is described as 'blood-colour' (or 'stained with blood') MA² 164b, and they were carried in religious processions. I do not know why the banner of Llanferrais should have been proverbial for its 'bareness'—possibly there was nothing left of it except its shaft, and the brocade had all disappeared. In the text, the phrase *lluman adaw* 'leaving banners' denotes that the enemy is in shameful flight; cf. RP 1052. 14, a lluman *aelaw*.

agarw. Either as a single word, to alliterate with *adaw*, or else as two words, *a garw*. [The meaning is similar in each case.]

60. a mal. In OW, a little before the time of the *Armes*, *amal* is found as a gloss on Lat. *ut* (VVB 36; Juvencus). It is derived from Celtic *samal*- (cf. Lat. *simil-is*), and this gives the adj. *hafal*. As a preposition or a conjunction it has come down in three forms, *mal*, *fal*,

and *fel*. The compound *hafalhyn* became *hefelhyn*, and later *hefellyn*, since the *y* in the last syllable affected the two *as* before it to *e*, and *lh* turned into *ll*. The *h*- was lost to give *efellyn* (cf. Breton *evelhen*), then the *-n*, giving *efelly*, and finally the *-e* was also lost, giving *felly*. From this last came the re-formation *fel*. In the same way, *fal* was derived from *hafal* with nouns which had no *-y-* to cause affection. *Mal* came about by analogy, working back from *fal*; or else by a wrong division of *hamal*, *amal* into *a+mal*, before the *-m-* had become lenited to *f*. Perhaps *amal* ought to be read in the text (rather than a conjunction *a mal*, like *ac fel*), cf. 68 below.

balaon, pl. of *beleu*, 'marten'; cf. *ceneu*, *cana(w)on*. The *-w-* has been preserved in BBC 47. 10, Ac am gewin i'r aeluid *buid balawon*. Evidently some kind of predatory animal is intended both here and in the text. (In BT 70, the poem quoted p. xlii of introduction above, G 54 suggests that *hyt valaon* is really a place-name, perhaps *Blathaon*; cf. also ACS i. 335, *Balavo*, now *Baillou*, a place-name on the Continent.) In CA, l. 1102, o grwyn *balaot*, we have a different pl. of the same word; cf. *llewod* (as compared with *lleuon* in BBC 96. 13), and pairs like *eryron*, *eryrod*.

I do not see any sense in saying that the English will fall 'like wolves', and I suppose that it was this passage which caused D in his dictionary to put the responsibility for rendering *balaon* as 'wolves' on William Llŷn and TW, and to add the further explanation 'vid. an etiam Nodos oculosque pullulantium arborum significet'—and then he quotes this line. D was followed by Loth, ACL i. 458, and he translates the word as 'shoots, buds' ('rejeton, pousse d'arbre'). I have not seen anything that supports his suggestion. *Beleu* (in the form *bela*) is a word still current in Caernarvonshire for 'marten'.

On the evidence of BBC 47, I suggest, therefore, that the text should be emended to *Amal* or *Mal* (*bwyt*) *balaon*. It is an example of *homoeoarkton*, a common error in copying: the copyist passed over from one *b* to the *b* in the next word. The meaning is that the English will fall as prey for wolves, or the like.

61. kyfun, unanimous, G 218. The word is formed either from *un* 'one', or else from *un-o* as in *dymuno*, see B x. 41, CA 278.

dullyn, i.e. they will take their place in an orderly manner in the army; see CA 86, 140 on *emdullyaw* as a military term; on *dull* 'array, line of battle', see CLlH 128.

62. blaen wrth von, cf. BT 27. 23, a wdosti pwy gwell ae e *von* ae y *vlaen*.

bon is used for the root of a tree, or for the hind-quarters of an animal or a man; cf. nicknames like *bongam* 'bow-legged', or PKM 44, deu Wydel *uonllwm* 'bare-backed, breechless'.

granwynyon, see Cymmr. Trans. 1940, 79 on *granwyn* in *Etmic*

Dinbych [also CT 32 = PT 36]. The word is composed of *grann* 'cheek', and *gwyn*, cf. CA ll. 1170–1, kwydassei lafnawr | ar *grannaur gwin* 'blades had fallen on white faces'. Since in some of the examples it is certainly the enemy who is referred to as *granwyn*, *granwynion*, I suggest that it was in the first place a nickname, given by the Welsh, who were dark, to their fair-haired English opponents, just as the American Indians called their enemies 'Palefaces'. Here it is claimed that the van of the Welsh army, or their foremost spears, will be in the rear of the English, driving them to flight.

kyfyng oedyn. Read *bydyn*? They (the Cymry) will be on their enemy's heels, or 'they will be hard-pressed'. [Alternatively, *oedyn* could perhaps be modal 'would be hard-pressed'. Cf. the use of *oed* in ll. 22, 49, and WM 17. 27, *oed llessach i'r march*.]

63. yg werth. To give alliteration with *geu*, read *gwerth* 'in return for,' i.e. in payment for their falsehood, see CA 79.

yn eu. Read *yn creu*, or *yn eu creu creinhyn* 'the stewards, to pay for their lies, will wallow in (their own) blood'—since this gives to the line both sense, and also internal rhyme and alliteration. For *crein*, see B ii. 48. *Ymgreinio* is used of a horse rolling, when it turns on its back with its hooves upwards.

64. gwaetlin, from *gwaed* and *llin*, 'course or flow of blood', CA 155.
yn eu kylchyn, about them; cf. the gloss *circhinn*, VVB 73.

65. traet. Perhaps one should read *troet* to rhyme with *goet*.
kilhyn. There is no *-h-* in the verbal forms in *-ynt* from l. 45 onwards, until we reach *creinhyn* in 63. In *ffohyn*, 66, the *-h-* may be derived from *-gh-* < *-g-*, Lat. *fuga* 'flight'. But here it could also arise by a misplacement of letters, *cilynt*, *cilynh*, *cilhyn*, or through analogy.

66. bwrch, from Anglo-Saxon *burh*, cf. Niw*bwrch*, Newborough, Anglesey [EEW 35].
ffoxas, again a borrowing from Anglo-Saxon, where *-as* occurs as the pl. of nouns [see EEW 38].

67. Prydyn, see note to l. 10 above.

68. attor, G 46 '?dychweliad', 'return'. With the prepn. *ar*, this is certainly the meaning in l. 176, *attor ar gynhon Saesson ny byd*. But here and in l. 190, it is more like 'yn ôl', 'back, back again'. To explain the *-tt-* it is necessary to assume something like *ate-sor-*, *ad-hor-*, cf. W-P ii. 497, on *ser-* 'to flow, rush, run, move suddenly' (cf. Gr. *hormē*, *hormaō*). To this same *hor-* is to be traced *go-hor* in BT 68. 14, ny bu clyt coet *gwynt ygohor*, if the allusion is to the rushing of a strong wind, H 86. 23, gwr *diohor*, perhaps 'imperturbable, quiet' (G 365, 'difalch, tirion', 'gentle'). The pres. indic. 3 sg. of the verb occurs in RP 1396. 34, Nym *gwehyr* gwahanarch. neum kynnwys

dreic bowys drwy barch; cf. H 138. 11–12, *horitor* y glot . . . kertoryon
ae daduer.

The prepn. *ate-* (*ad-*) gives the force of Eng. *re-* in *return*, cf. *atcor*
in the Gododdin l. 28 (CA 74).

llaw gyghor, from *llaw* 'small, low, sad'; see *Y Beirniad* vii. 187;
CA 87. *Llaw*frydedd, 'sadness, melancholy', is the opposite of
*mawr*frydedd 'pride, magnanimity'. *Llaw gyghor* is the equivalent in
meaning of *llawfrydedd*.

llithryn. Cf. Eng. 'slip away'. *Llithro* was used formerly for 'to run,
to flow', cf. LlA 18, ffynnawn y drugared a *lithrawd* or wyry veir (de
Virgine *emanavit*); BD 316 (llithrav = *uergere, elapsus, dilabuntur,
manabit*, etc.); 104, ac auonyd y glynneu a *lithrant* o waet (= RBB
144, a *redant*); 105, aryant a *lithyr* o garneu (RBB 146, a *ret*),
DB 57 (= *labitur*); 55, odyna y *llithir* yn groew y'r ffynhonneu. Ac
odyna yndaw e hun y *llithyr* (= *refluit*); 87. 2. In the text, the
retreating enemy is compared to the ebb of the sea.

69. Kaer Geri. In the *Life of Alfred*, MHB 482, Asser comments on
the place-name *Cirrenceastre* (Cirencester), 'quae Britannice *Cairceri*
nominatur', see Introduction, p. xxviii above. Asser died in 909 or 910,
and therefore his use of Welsh is evidence for the Welsh of the same
period as the *Armes*. For a later Welsh adaptation of the English
name, see H. Lewis, B x. 127–8, on *Caer Fuddai*.

70. y dyffryn a bryn. *y* can denote both *i* and *yn*: cf. *ar fryn a dôl*.
They will lament everywhere, without concealment or denial, that
their expedition to Aber Peryddon was a disaster.

71. mat. See B ii. 121–2; CA 224, *ny mat* with a following verb. *Mat
doethant* forms a compound verb, and a verb with initial *m-* is not
lenited after the negative.

72. anaeleu, see note to l. 37 above. In the manuscript, *eu* follows this
word, but it has been crossed out, and there are deletion-points under
it.

73. y discynnant. The *y* shows that *naw ugein canhwr* is in the
oblique case, '*with* 18,000 men they (will) attack' [i.e. '18,000 strong'].

74. mawr watwar, a kind of exclamation, 'What a shame, what
mocking!'

namyn, a monosyllable, as in 50, 184, 194; BT 54. 24, Tri lloneit
prytwen yd aetham ni idi, *nam* seith ny dyrreith o gaer sidi. In the
corresponding refrain in the other stanzas of the same poem, the
form is *namyn*, BT 55. 7, 12, 18, 24. The full form was *namwyn*; for
this, see note on l. 78 below. For *nam*, see CLlH 141; Hafod 1. 21a,
nam seith mlyned, cf. *twym, twymn, twymyn*.

75. dyhed, usually 'war', 'disturbance caused by war', as in l. 4 above.
Here, the story of war, any terrible tale.

77. kyneircheit, cf. 47, 61. They are named in the next line—*gwyr
Deheu*.

eneit dichwant, compound adj. 'reckless of their lives'. It is an
echo of l. 696 of the Gododdin, gwyr en reit moleit *eneit dichwant*,
see CA 249; MA² 191b. 54 (= RP 1434. 32, *Hirlas Owein*), Cad ymer-
bynieid *eneid dichwant*.

78. amygant, see CA 249–50. The verb *amwyn, amygaf* can fre-
quently be explained as meaning 'defend', but this meaning will neither
suit here nor in various other examples. In the Gododdin it is said of
the warriors 'Gwin a med a *amucsant*', l. 698. This does not mean that
they were defending their drink, but that they imbibed it: see B x. 136,
where I have suggested that the verb-noun *amwyn* can sometimes be
translated 'mwynhau', 'enjoy'. I believe now that we can come even
nearer to the meaning by understanding it as 'cymryd gafael', 'seize,
retain possession of, fight for', cf. CA ll. 528–9, Pan vuost di . . . en
amwyn tywyssen gordirot (i.e. 'when thou wert taking (or seizing) the
crops of the border'); l. 557, o nerth e kledyf claer e hamuc (the poet is
imprisoned; a warrior comes and 'seizes' or 'delivers' him, cf. CA
p. 209). Here, as in certain other examples, the meaning is equivalent
to that of *achub* 'to seize, to take possession of' < Lat. *occupo*; and
'occupy' will often translate both verbs. E.g. CCh. 17, eu bot *y amwyn*
vyn teyrnas oc eu swynneu = B v. 218, eu bot *yn achub* vyn teyrnas
oc eu swynneu (the French are accused of seeking to *occupy* the land
of Hu Gadarn). In the text, the meaning is that the men of south Wales
intend to hold back their taxes.

The verb-noun *amwyn* gives help also in elucidating *namwyn,
namyn* 'except'. Of this prepn. it is said in WG 442, 'It is sometimes
found without *n-* by false division', and Morris-Jones then cites the
use of *amyn* and *amen* in the Laws (cf. Black Book of Chirk, 16, na
dely ef teghu *amyn* yu korn, 'he ought not to swear *except* (or *except-
ing*) by his horn'). Since *namwyn, namyn, amyn* may all be translated
by Eng. *except* (a borrowing from Latin), it is worth considering the
various meanings held by Lat. *excipio* 'to take to oneself, to catch,
capture, take, receive'. All these meanings suit with the examples of
amygaf, amwyn, as verb and as verb-noun. Is it not therefore legiti-
mate to conclude that from the verb-noun *amwyn* there has been derived
the prepn. *namwyn* 'except'?; cf. the rendering given above for the
sentence from the Black Book of Chirk. The meaning of *cant namyn
un* is 'a hundred except one', or 'excepting one'. I suppose, therefore,
that *namwyn* 'except' came from *yn amwyn* 'excepting'—the first is
merely a compressed form of the second (cf. LL 173, *nihit* = 'yn ei hyd';
B xi. 88, 89, *Neithyr* = 'yn eithr', 'but', or the way in which N'ad <

Na ad (imper. *gadu*) has given a new verb *nadu*, and *heb ado un* 'not leaving one' has resulted, through various forms, in *bado un, bod ag un*). *Amyn* has not arisen, therefore, from a wrong division of *namwyn, namyn*, but is a form derived from the verb-noun *amwyn* itself, equivalent to *amwyn* with a prepn., cf. the use of *gwerth* in the Gododdin, and *yng ngwerth* as a variant of it, as in l. 63 above. There is therefore no connection between *namwyn* and OW *nammui* 'only': the meaning does not correspond, and they are quite unrelated. [On *namwyn* and *nammui* (= Irish *nammá*) see GMW 232–3.]

79. llifeit, sharpened; see CA 131 on the termination *-eit = -edig*.

llwyr, cf. CA 217 'completely'; *yn llwyr*, 92 below. (Cf. *gwerth*: *yng ngwerth*; notes on ll. 63, 78 above.)

80. mwyn. Besides 'ore, metal', *mwyn* can mean 'profit, treasure'; see B ii. 129 for exx. The meaning here is that after their achievements in battle they will leave no work (or payment) for any doctor.

gwnaant. The form in OW would have been *guragant*. *Gur-* became changed into *gwn-*, medial *-g-* (or *-gh-*) was lost, to give *gwnaant* as here, then it became syncopated to *gwnânt*. (See GMW 130.) Line 82 below reads *a wnant*, although the metre requires *a wnaant*. [In a note in B xxi. 234, Professor Thomas Jones points out, after comparing this line with l. 82 below (see note), that it is improbable that the original text repeated the identical verbal form twice over to sustain the rhyme in two closely adjacent lines within the same *awdl*. The phrase *gwneuthur kat* is of too frequent occurrence in poetry for us to doubt the authenticity of the reading in l. 82; but he suggests that the original reading in l. 80 was **guanaant = (g)wan-ant*, from the vb. *gwanu* 'to pierce, strike'. The meaning of the line would then be that it would be fruitless for any doctor to seek to cure the enemies whom the Welsh would strike and wound, for they would all be dead: cf. CA l. 401, *e neb a wanei nyt atwenit*. Old forms of the vb. *gwneuthur* attested in CA are l. 783, *ri guanaid* (= *ry wnaeth*); l. 771, *guereit* (= *gwreith*); cf. also AL ii. 6, *guanaet*; ii. 10, *gueneutur*. Thus it would have been easy for a copyist to misunderstand **guanaant* in his original as *(g)wnaant*. (The double vowel is not of infrequent occurrence in OW orthography.)]

81. Katwaladyr. One of the two princes whose prophesied return would deliver the Welsh from the English invaders; the other was *Kynan*, 89; see also 91, 163, 182, 184. The two are repeatedly named in early prophetic verse in the *Book of Taliesin*, the Black Book of Carmarthen, and the Red Book of Hergest. It is worth noting that Arthur is never named as a promised deliverer. [On Kynan and Katwaladyr see TYP 316–18, 292–3.]

kadyr, cf. OBr. *cadr* (VVB 62) gloss on *decoreo* (DGVB 92); MBr. *cazr*, ModBr. *kaer* (with variants). The rhyme with *Katwaladyr* in

this line and in 163 (cf. also 91) proves the correctness of the form in *-dr < -atr-*, since *-adr-* in Celtic would have given *-aer-*. (See VKG i. 323, on the derivation, in preference to WG 185.)

82. a wnant. Read *a wnaant* for the metre. See note to l. 80 above.

83. anoleith, see B ii. 130, vi. 221. The meaning of *goleith* is 'avoid, escape from'; with the neg. *an-* 'unavoidable, inescapable'.

84. yg gorffen, cf. l. 95, and Ir. *hi foirciunn* 'at the end', gloss on *in fine* St. Gall 18b (Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, ii. 69).

85. arosceill, or *ar osceill*. G does not give any compound with *aros-* as the first element in it. The whole line is obscure to me.

ryplanhassant, cf. *planthonnor*, gloss on *fodientur* in Juvencus (VVB 205, where it is used of the damned): aeternum miseri poena *fodientur* iniqui. *Fodio* means 'to dig, to prick, pierce, stab' (Andrews), not simply to plant. Note that the tense of the verb varies in these lines; here and in l. 83 it is pluperf., with the enemy as (the understood) subject, even though they are not named—but in the next line, the verb is pres. or fut. I take *ereill* as the object: i.e. the enemy had afflicted others, and never again will they be able to collect their taxes. *Arosceill* may be a pl. adj., describing the innocent who were afflicted by them, or it may be an adv. describing the manner in which they were afflicted.

86. oes oesseu, cf. Book of St. Chad, LL xliii, *in ois oisou*, 'for ever' —the earliest extant occurrence of the phrase: later, *yn oes oesoedd*. Note that *yn* is omitted in the text; cf. *byth bythoedd*.

escorant, cf. BT 42. 16, where God is called *plwyf escori*, because He gathers His people into the fold. The meaning is different from *esgor* 'to give birth'; here it is rather 'to gather into the fold, yard, or place of defence', cf. CA 103, on *ysgor* 'fortress, cattle-pen'; Windisch, W 761–2, on Ir. *scor, scorim*; [Contrib. 'S', 102, *scor* 'a paddock, enclosure for horses, meadow, pasture, camp']. I understand the text similarly; the taxes consist of the cattle that the enemy claims, but they will never be able to round up any of them into their pens. Cf. MA² 160a, *yn llat esgarant pan esgores*; BT 62. 7–8, *neu vi a weleis wr yn buarthaw*; 26. 9, *bum yn yscor gan dylan eil mor*; H 99. 12, *hud amnawt hirulawt hir wen y ysgor*; in l. 113 of the Gododdin we find *eidyn ysgor*; in l. 1441, *esgor eidin*; this illustrates the possible orthographical variants.

88. canhwyll. Cf. the similar use of Irish *caindel* as an epithet for a hero [Contrib. 'C', 35]. The hero referred to here is Cynan, l. 89.

tywyll, rhyming with *canhwyll*; *tywŷll* was therefore the original pronunciation, WG 47.

89. kynan. [I conclude this to be Cynan Meiriadoc, the legendary founder of the Breton colony; see TYP 316–18, and notes to *Katwaladyr*, l. 81 above, and to l. 182 below.]

    racwan, to rush forward in attack, see CA 82.

90. gwae a genyn. They will sing 'Woe (*gwae*) to us!'

91. paladyr, a tree-trunk, spear-shaft. Here used metaphorically: a strong support, a defence.

    gan y unbyn, with his chief warriors; cf. l. 3 above.

92. trwy synhwyr, with wisdom, wisely, skilfully. For *trwy* in constructions which are now strange to the language, cf. CA l. 727, *drwy var*; l. 874, mal yuet med *drwy chwerthin*; l. 997, godef gloes angheu *trwy anghyffret*; BT 4. 23, meint dyduc duw *trwy nodet*; 11. 7, ac eryf *trwy alar* ac enynnu *trwy var*, cf. l. 125 below. In none of these examples is the meaning of *trwy* the usual one.

    dichlyn. As a verb 'to choose, select' (G 328, 'dewis, dethol'; with RC xlii. 87–8, contrast VKG ii. 539–40). If the allusion is to the chieftains, then one must accept the meaning 'choose'. But does it mean that the prince was to choose his chieftains? I believe that it gives better sense if we understand *eu* in this line as referring to the English of l. 90; the English lamenting, Cadwaladr with his chieftains *yn eu dichlyn* 'seeking them out' with skill and thoroughness—that is the sequence of ideas. The examples which Silvan Evans gives of *dichlyn* show that from the seventeenth century onwards the meaning was quite clearly 'to choose'. He quotes *dichlynig* 'assiduous, exact, careful' from Lewis Glyn Cothi (*Gwaith Lewis Glyn Cothi*, ed. Walter Davies and John Jones, Oxford, 1837; 35. 18). According to Lloyd-Jones, it is to be associated with OI *teclaim* (< *to-ess-glenn-*) meaning 'to choose' [Contrib. 'T', 105; *teclaim* 'to choose, collect (a crowd of people, body of soldiers)']. Without the preverb *to-*, the Ir. compound is found as a gloss on *uestigant* 'to trace'; *rimari* 'to seek', and the vn. as a gloss on *discussionem* and *indagine* (a word for catching an animal or an enemy, from *indago* to follow like a dog, then 'investigate', 'look into' something). This is the shade of meaning I find in the text: it is a word for pursuing, seeking for. Later it developed into 'seek out the best, and choose it'; then 'select'.

93. erchwyn. With the meaning 'bed-side' cf. CLIH xi. 61c. Here the enemy are described as sinking into their beds in pain, after having fled wounded from the battle. [G 483 lists the additional meaning 'amddiffyn', 'defence'; this could as well mean 'defender' in the context, and I have translated accordingly, cf. *erchwynawc*, l. 169 below.]

94. custud, i.e. *cystudd*, 'affliction', etc., CLIH 204, CA 108. For the alternation between *-y-u* and *-u-u*, cf. below, 108, *cwssyl* (= *cusyl*); 161, *kussulwyr*: see CLIH 152 and the examples there given of *cusil*,

cusyl, cysul, cusul. Also B vi. 112, the gloss *custnudieticc* on *confecta* (Martianus Capella).

    a chreu rud ar rud, red blood on the cheek (*grudd*). The early poets were fond of playing on two words which were similar in sound but different in meaning.

95. agreith (var. *anghreifft*, G 17). In B ii. 44–6 I derived it from Lat. *increpito* ('to call out to one, to challenge, to blame, rebuke'). 'Challenge, defiance' is more suitable here than 'rebuke'. A defiance leads to battle, and then to *anreith* 'spoil' which will be *dengyn* 'mighty' (cf. l. 5 above), and the English will be put to flight. Cf. MA² 332a. 2, llam drin breenhin *Brynaich angraith*.

96. ar hynt. 'at once, straightway'; see CA 312.

    hyt. The line is too long: *hyt* is redundant if we take *Gaerwynt* as being in the oblique case (lenited, without prepn.) as in *Gwyr a aeth Ododin*; Gwyr a aeth *Gatraeth*. [On the construction, see TYP 63–4.]

    Caerwynt. A Welsh adaptation of *Winchester*: from the old name *Venta* in Brittonic one would expect Caer*went*. But cf. PKM 145 [LHEB 282, 387].

    kynt pwy kynt. When a comparative adj. is doubled, it denotes an increase in quality, cf. *mwyfwy* 'more and more', *gwaethwaeth* 'worse and worse' (cf. Breton *goaz oz goaz, muy ouz muy*; on *ouz, oz* see Lewis, LlLlC 14). To the positive form of the adj. the prepn. *i* may be added, and followed by a comparative: o ddrwg *i* waeth 'from bad to worse'. *Pwy* here may represent *py* (= Ir. *co* 'to') = o gynt *i* gynt, i.e. the flight of the enemy became faster and faster. *Pwy* was introduced by analogy with *pwy gilydd* 'each other' (from **po-i*, the prepn. with the infixed pron.; GMW 97, n. 1); or else by confusion with the constr. 'gorau *po* gyntaf' 'the sooner the better', since *pwy* could also come from *poe* (= *po*, 3 sg. pres. subj. *bod*). Cf., however, Hen.MSS ii. 82; B v. 225, kynt bwy kynt.

97. pan adrodynt, when they (the Cymry) say; see CA 72–3; BT 57, lloegrwys ae gwydant *pan ymadrodant*. The substance of their speech is given in the following lines. *Wy* is not counted in the metre.

98. y trindawt. There is no need for the def. art. *y*, cf. 41 above.

    or may be a mistake for *o'n* 'o ein', 'from our', since *n* was so much like *r* in the old orthography.

99. Dyfet, Pembrokeshire, or south-west Wales; see HW 261; Phillimore, Cy. xi. 56–7, for its exact boundaries.

    Glywyssyg, Glywysing, south-east Wales, from Pembroke to Monmouthshire; or as Sir John Lloyd says (HW 273, and n. 254), it was the land between the Tawe and the Usk; he is not sure whether

it included Gwent or not. Dyfed and Glywysing taken together mean, generally speaking, the whole of south Wales. [But *Glywysing* was a separate kingdom under its own rulers, and these gave no allegiance to Hywel Dda. In the Introduction, p. xxiii above, I. W. appears to identify the political interests of these two kingdoms. See A. O. H. Jarman's review of the poem, *Llên Cymru* iv. 55–8.]

100. nys. What is the force of the *-s* here? It may be a pl. infixed pron. in the dative case, anticipating the indirect object, *meiryon mechteyrn*; cf. 170, deu arth *nys gwna gwarth kyfarth* beunyd 'two bears . . . fighting brings no shame *to them*'.

gwnaho. The force of the subj. here may be either future or optative; GMW 113.

101. cynhoryon, chief warriors, 'champions'; those who fought in the *cynnor*, the front rank of the army; CA 69.

keffyn, cf. 103, G 94. The form is ambiguous: it may be pres. or fut. 3 pl. of *cael*, *caffael* (cf. 103), or imperf. subj. (cf. GMW 149). Alternatively, it may be taken as pl. of *keffei*, cf. CA 130 (*cy* 'though' +*bei*) 'though they be'.

ebryn. I am uncertain of the meaning; cf. BT 11. 1 (about Judgement Day), *ebryn* pob dyhed pan losco mynyded; 75. 25, Vch o vor vch o vynyd. Vch o vor ynyal *ebryn*. coet maes tyno a bryn. In RC xxxii. 302–3, Loth holds that the meaning is 'smooth, level, without hills', deriving it from *ek-* and *bryn*, and comparing *egwan*, *eglur*. I do not see how *k* can disappear so completely before *b*; would it not give *egfryn*? Nor is *ek-* a negative in the other examples: *egwan* does not mean 'strong' but 'very weak'. If *bryn* is the second element, *ebryn* could come from *adbryn*, just as *aber* comes from *ad-ber*. *-db-* gives first of all *-p-*, which is then lenited to *-b-*; *a* is changed to *e* before *y*. As regards the meaning, *ad* is an intensive, and not a negative particle (cf. *add*-fwyn). *Eb-* 'horse' is found in *eb-awl*, *ebran*, *ebodn* 'horse manure' (perhaps also in *eb-rwydd*), and there is a *rhyn* which means 'hill', as well as *gryn* 'to push'. In addition, there is the *ebr* in *dadebru* 'to revive, refresh', cf. BT 47. 16 (referring to God), byt *adebryat* (adeibriad), i.e. one who re-vitalizes the world.

If we take *keffyn* to mean 'though they be', I suggest that *ebryn* is an adj. from *rhynn* 'rough, fierce' (CA 93), with *eb-* strengthening it, as in *eb-rwydd*.

[In G 434, Lloyd-Jones suggests that *ebryn* is a masc. noun meaning 'cyffro, cynnwrf, ymryson', 'disturbance, contention, strife' and he compares Irish *eachrann* with similar meaning, noting the possibility that in this sense *ebryn* is to be connected with *r(h)ynn*.]

102. medut, see CA 168 (noun from *meddu* 'to enjoy'). Intoxication will give them no enjoyment or satisfaction.

genhyn, cf. 2 above. Here meaning 'at our cost'.

103. talet, verb-noun in *-et*; see GMW 157.

o dynget, cf. *o raid* 'by necessity'. They cannot evade the punishment which Fate will impose on them.

meint a geffyn, i.e. all that they get, or may get; cf. CA 71, and l. 171 below.

104. o ymdifeit veibon. To be taken with *talet*, cf. CA l. 1408, vyg werth y a wnaethant | o eur pur.

ryn, see CA 92–3. Some of their children will be orphans and others will be *rhynn*. Of the various meanings possible, the root of the verb *rhynnu* is most suitable here, 'starved with cold, famished'. The root of the verb is here used as past participle passive.

105. Dewi, cf. 51.

Prydeyn, mistake for *Prydyn*, since this is the form attested here by the rhyme, although the meaning is *Prydain*; on the confusion between the two, see note to l. 10 above.

106. ffrwt ailego. Gwenogvryn Evans (BT 16. 6) reads *arlego*, but I can only distinguish *i*, although the stroke that would turn it into *r* has perhaps been added, across the *l*, but high up. On the basis of this reading he identifies *arlego* with Ir. *Port Lairge* (Waterford); see his note, BT 85, and the variants of the name cited by Hogan, *Onom.* 564. But not one of the forms cited resembles either *ailego* or *arlego*, and in any case, *ffrwt* does not mean 'port', but 'river'. The reading of l. 149 below, Dybi *olego* lyghes, etc., should perhaps be restored in this line, cf. 151, Dybi *o alclut*; 153, *o lydaw*. (This prevents us from reading *Allego* to alliterate with *Allmyn*.) Yet the metre requires a syllable here before *lego*, so that it seems reasonable to supply the preposition *o* 'from'.

An additional argument against Gwenogvryn's interpretation is that one would not expect the English to be fleeing to Ireland, but to the furthermost corners of England or to the Continent, as in l. 7, hyt *Gaer Weir* (Durham) gwasgarawt allmyn. Holder cites *Aleeco* (*Vico*) from Merovingian coinage (ACS i. 90, 95) = St. Malo (also *Alleco* (*vico*) = Aleto). I do not know how the *-o* could have survived in the Welsh word, even if Holder had been more certain of his form. Nevertheless, it is difficult to make sense of *ffrwt ar* followed by a place-name; cf. also 149.

ffohawr allan. The rhyme proves that *allan* here is a mistake for *allmyn*. *Ffoi* has now become an intransitive verb, 'to flee', but formerly 'to put to flight'; cf. BBC 5. 4–6, Llyaus ban brivher. llyaus ban *foher*.

108. Iwys, the men of Wessex, cf. 181, *Iwis*. In RBB 260 = Br. Tywys. 10, Alfred is called *Alvryt urenhin Iwys*: AC 900, Albrit rex *giuoys* (cf. Phillimore's note 'King of the *Gewissi*, i.e. of Wessex'). In the genealogy of Alfred, Asser gives (MHB 468) Elesa,

qui fuit *Geuuis*, a quo Britones totam illam gentem *Geguuis* nominant
(cf. ibid. 302, Giwis; 305, Gewis, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle);
B iv. 45 (in a prophecy) Eigil, *ywuys* lloegruis keint (= vii. 27, Eingl,
i wrys(!), Lloegrwys Caint); BT 79. 8, Brythonic yn *iwis* dydyrchefis.
Asser's evidence is sufficient to prove the meaning of *Iwys* at the date
of the Prophecy.

vn gwssyl, cf. 161, *kussul*wyr; 165, *kussyl* (rhyming as here with
-*yd(d)* and -*yr*); VVB 92, Ox. 1, *cusil*; CA 80, o *gussyl*; G 188. Later it
turned into *cusul, cysul*; see CLlH 152. The meaning is 'council' <
Lat. *consilium*. [On the nature of the 'councils' held by Athelstan, see
introduction, p. xviii above.]

109. a Lloegyr lloscit. The rhyme proves that -*it* here must repre-
sent old orthography for -*id*, -*ydd*. Thomas Jones (B x. 134) suggests
a further change to *luossit*, comparing *lluossit* in BBC 66, and reading
Lloegyr luossydd as 'the armies of Lloegr', with the subordinate
genitive coming first—a common word-order in the old poetry. This
would give good sense, and would not require much alteration of the
actual letters; it would also preserve an old construction. But the
full alliteration of initial *ll-* would be lost, and there would be five
syllables after the *caesura*, or pause, in the middle of the line. There
are four syllables in over 150 of the lines in the poem, and five
in less than thirty of them [cf. Introduction, p. lii above]. *Llosgydd*
could perfectly well be an adj. describing Lloegr, and the spelling would
require no change in order to give good sense. What is emphasized
is the English custom of burning the possessions of the Welsh; cf. the
nickname *Fflamddwyn*, 'Flame-bearer', applied to one of the English
leaders in the poems of Taliesin (PT vi. 3; x. 11; [cf. TYP 351]).
a is here the prepn. 'with', not the conjunction 'and'.
Lloegyr. In B iv. 45, the 'Eingl, Iwys, Lloegrwys, and Caint (men
of Kent)' are named as though they represented sub-divisions of the
English nation. The other names are geographically identifiable, but
what about the *Lloegrwys*? Were they not the inhabitants of Mercia?
Geoffrey of Monmouth, though he receives little respect today, either
as a linguist or as a historian, nevertheless lived nearer to these early
times than do we, and he collected traditional material: so we may ac-
cept for what it is worth his statement (*Hist. Reg.* ii. i, RBB 60) that
Locrinus ruled over the middle part of the island 'which after him was
called Loegria'. There is no need to believe in Locrinus, but the
midlands of England would suit well with *Lloegr* in the text. North-
umbria was not on the border of Wales in 930, but both Mercia and
Wessex were. The *Lloegrwys* (men of Lloegr) were the enemy who
attacked Cynddylan in Shrewsbury (CLlH xi. 15, 16)—surely the
men of Mercia. However, we have to remember that *Lloegrwys* was
also the name given to the enemies of the Gododdin tribe and of

Urien Rheged in PT, so that it would not be wise to try to restrict
the name too closely: it could have included the old British North, or
at least a part of it. However, since *Lloegr* has come to be the name
given by the Welsh to the English part of Britain in general, it is right
to look for its origin in a region which was on the border of Wales.
[In B xix. 8–23, M. Gwyn Jenkins collects the instances of *Lloegr*,
Lloegrwys from Aneirin and Taliesin. The conclusion he reaches is
that *Lloegr* was originally the name of the British people living in the
east central midlands, and he identifies the name with that of Leicester:
Legor > *Lloegr*; *Legorensis* > *Lloegrwys* (but see now K. Jackson,
B xxiii. 26–7, who rejects this derivation). In a note in B xxii. 47, P. C.
Bartrum points out that this derivation was advocated as long ago as
1611 by John Lewis of Llynwene in his *History of Great Britain*.]

110. Notice the length of the line: two halves each of six syllables,
as in 42.
prydaw (cf. 153, *p. gyweithyd*; 178, *kadyr gyweithyd*). From *pryd*
'form, beauty,' as adj. 'handsome' (cf. Lat. *forma* and *formosus*, 'shape'
and 'shapely'). The termination -*aw* recurs in 117, *gaflaw*, cf. *Llydaw*,
Manaw, and CA 264 (= OW -*am*).

111. a cherd. There is no immediate connection with the previous
line, but a reference back to l. 107; it is likely enough that a line has
been lost which foretold that things would turn out contrary to the
hopes of the *Iwys*, but in accordance with those of the Welsh—*a cherd
ar alluro*, 'and the foreigners (will be) on the move'.
cerd. Not the word for 'song', but the root of *cerdded*, see CA 368;
Breton *kerz*; Old Cornish *cerd* (gloss on *iter*); later Cornish *kerth*
(ACL i. 107). For *cerd ar*, cf. PKM 12. 128, a pha *gerdet* yssyd *ar*nat
ti? [cf. PT i. 13, aercol *ar gerdet*].
aralluro. Read *ar alluro* here—even though *arallfro* does occur in
other texts (see G 35)—because *ar* completes the meaning of *cerd*;
i.e. the English are *ar gerdded* 'on the move'.
alluro, a foreigner, one from another country, cf. *all*tud; Gaulish
allo-brog-es: as opposed to *Cymro*, one from the same country (see note
to l. 9 above).

112. kud. For *cudd* 'hiding-place', see G 184. Read here (with G 188)
cwdd, a var. of *cw(d)*, which meant 'Where?' as further on in the line,
and cf. also 135, 136, *cw mae*. BBC 88. 8–10, merwerit mor. *cv* threia, *cud*
echwit. *Cv da, cud ymda. Cv* treigil, *cv*threwna. *Pa hid*. a. Nev *cvdvit*.
According to the usual orthography of BBC, one must read *cw da
cwd ymda*, but G gives several exx. of *cwb*, see also WG 291, 293;
W-P on Lat. *ubi*, etc. [See now GMW 79, LEWP 13.]
ymda. See CLlH 211 on *gorymda*, and HGCr. 134 on pret. 1 sg.
imteith, BBC 22. 9–10 (= *ymddaith* in modern orthography). See

further LP 296–7, 335; and G 106 on *canhymddeith* (cf. D *canymdaith* comitari; *canymdoi* comitari . . . à *can*, *ym*, et *toi*), [GPC 419].

    cwd a. [*a* is here the 3 sg. pres. indic. *mynet*; see glossary.]

113. [**dychyrchwynt**, cf. 83, *rydygyrchassant*. On the variation which appears in this and other verbs between lenited and aspirated forms following a pre-verbal particle, see GMW 62.]

    cyfarth, see CA 259; PKM 237; G 203; *Trans. Anglesey Antiq. Soc.* 1923, 52 on Llas arth yn y *gyfarthfa* 'Slain was the bear at bay' (an allusion to the death of Hywel ab Owain Gwynedd in the battle of Pentraeth, Anglesey, MA² 346a. 13). *Cyfarth* was originally a hunting term, used of an animal defying the hounds, who would be barking (*cyfarth*) around it: *rhoi cyfarth* is 'to stand at bay'. Later it came to be used for warriors 'standing their ground' in a similar way, and then simply for 'battle', as here.

114. talu gwynyeith 'avenge', see *Y Beirniad* iv. 65–6; CA 86. The meaning of *gwyn(n)yeith* when used of battle is 'revenge, slaughter', but when used of a saint, it means 'miracle'. For the phrase used here, cf. *talu'r pwyth*, 'pay back'.

    hennyd, cf. 122, 154, 177, 187; B iv. 339, CA 100 'fellow, companion; opponent'; Breton *hentez*, Cornish *hynse*. *Cilydd* is used similarly both for 'companion' and for 'enemy', cf. 116 below.

115. peleitral, cf. *peleidryal* CA l. 911 (though it is perhaps here a mistake for *peleidryat*), and on *paladr*, note to l. 91 above. The ending in *-al*, *-ial* occurs in various words. Sometimes it is a lenited form of *gal* (cf. *dial*, *arial*, Irish *digal*, *argal*); sometimes it is the ending of a verb-noun (see WG 392 for later examples, corrected by Loth, RC xxxvii. 49), as it is in Breton. Early examples are CA ll. 679 *ysgynnyal*, 1355 *disgynnyal*. Sometimes this ending corresponds better with the Gaulish termination in *-ialos*, *-ialum*, Holder, ACS ii. 7 (where it is necessary to correct the note), which appears in the name of the commote of *Iâl* in Powys, and in *anial*, *ynial*; *Pennal*, *Penial*. But it would take up too much space to discuss all the examples, since there is considerable difficulty in classifying and interpreting some of the words. [See J. Lloyd-Jones, 'The compounds of *Gal*', in Séamus Pender (ed.), *Féilscríbhinn Torna* (Cork, 1947), 83–9.]

    The form *peleitral* suggests that *-al* has been added to the pl. *peleidr*, or else that the ending is *-ial*, and that the consonantal *i* has affected the previous syllable of *paladr*. Since the allusion is to a military weapon, it appears to me that *peleidr(i)al* is parallel to *cleddyfal*, a blow with a sword, see G 145, CA 153. The references prove that *cleddyfal* is synonymous with *cleddyfawd*: it is used for a blow on the head or on the nose. Cf. also H 88. 1, krynei uaes carnet rac *carnnyal* y ueirch (although there is no *-i-* affection in this case);

the meaning here is very close to 'hoof-beats', or to a verb-noun for the beating of hooves on the ground (see G 113, *carnyal* 'sathr, sarnu, pystylad', 'trampling, stamping'. Pending a fuller investigation, I suggest that *peleitral* means 'a thrusting with spear-points in battle'.

    dyfal, see CA l. 305, *dywal* y gledyual. It is difficult to distinguish between the words *dyfal* and *dywal* in early orthography (since *u* sometimes = *w*, sometimes = *f*; *w* too can stand for both *w* and *f*). The meaning of *dyfal* is 'restless, passionate, earnest'; *dywal* is 'brave, bold, fierce'. See CLlH 76, 144, CA 171.

    dillyd (cf. 158 below, *dyllid*), G 356 'llifo, arllwys, tywallt', 'flow, pour out'; RP 1044. 5–6, *dillyd* dwfyr o ffynnawn; BT 21. 24, 47. 13–14, parth pan *dillyd* nilus (= the river Nile in Egypt). The allusion is to the spears which are hurled against the enemy, not just in showers but in a ceaseless flood (taking *dyfal* with *dillyd*, not with *peleitral*).

116. arbettwy, pres. subj. used in a future sense; cf. note to l. 13 above, and GMW 113. [According to my class-notes taken at the time, Sir Ifor rendered this line in 1939 as 'No (fellow) tribesman will spare the body of his enemy'. For *car* in this sense, cf. ll. 138, 145, where the pl. *carant* is used for the Welsh in general; the semantic development is in fact analogous to that of *Kymry* (see note to l. 9). *Y gilyd* in the sense of 'opponent' is paralleled in the similar range of meanings held by its Irish cognate *céile*, and it was in this sense that Sir Ifor understood the word in the present context. But GMW 113 renders the line 'a kinsman will not spare the body of another'; if this is accepted, we must take *arbettwy* as parallel to its Irish cognate *ar-cessi* 'to pity, have compassion for', and understand the poet to be expressing a wish that the Cymry will fight with a passion and ferocity which will over-ride all respect for persons, even for their own comrades. A third possibility is that the phrase is to be taken as a traditional formulaic element adopted out of earlier battle-descriptions (cf. note to *eneit dichwant*, l. 77 above), and consequently not strictly adapted to the present context.]

117. pen gaflaw, i.e. a head 'split open'. The meaning of *gaflaw* is 'forked', from *gafl* 'fork', with the adj. termination *-aw* (as in *prydaw*, l. 110). In BT 70. 3, am *ryaflaw* hallt am hydyruer mor, the allusion is to the salt sea, which is being split open or torn by ships; cf. also VVB 128 (Martianus Capella) *fistl gablau*, gloss on *fistula bilatrix* (in pl. *bilatris*). For *carnaflaw*, *carnaflawc*, the name of a horse, 'Cloven-hoof(ed)', see G 113, [TYP 101]; and cf. BT 23. 24–5, llyffan du *gaflaw*. *Gaflaw* is also used for a kind of fish (D salar, species salmonis); *gaflawec*, a net with which it is caught.

118. gweilyd, D (of an oath) 'vacuus, inanis'. In Gwynedd, *gweili* is used of a horse returning *yn weili*, that is, without a cart, or a plough,

or any load. According to AL i. 784, there are three places in which
a man ought not to make a *llw gweilydd*: on a single-plank bridge
without a hand-rail, at the gate of a graveyard (since one should
chant the *pater noster* there on behalf of all Christians), and at the
door of a church. The meaning here is a vain, thoughtless, or ill-
considered oath (not 'the oath of an absolver' as it is translated in AL).
But in the context of battle, a *march gweilydd* is a horse that has lost
its rider; cf. MA² 141a. 25 (= H 4. 10), Ni chronnai na seirch na meirch
gweilyt (in Meilyr's *marwnad* to Gruffudd ap Cynan); that is, he did
not keep arms without anyone to wear them, or horses without anyone
to ride them.

119. obein, mistake for *ubein* 'to howl, to wail' (D 'clamitare, ejulare';
MA² 271b. 7–10 (in ref. to hell), a phawb yn *ubain* a phawb yn germain
a phawb yn llefain nas lladd angeu; RP 1157. 30, yn y mae *ubein*. yn
y mae *lleuein*; DWS *ubain* 'shoute'. To read *ubein* in the line gives
vocalic alliteration with *uthyr*.

   ketwyr. Note the Irish rhyme in -*yr*, -*ydd*.

120. llaw amhar, a compound adj. describing *lliaws*, from *llaw*
'hand' and *amhar*, the root of *amharu* 'to injure'; the meaning is
therefore that some were wounded 'in their hands', or else 'by hand'.
Or else, cf. *llaw* 'sad, wretched, small' (as in l. 68 above), 'many
sadly wounded'. [The second half-line would seem to support the
first interpretation: the reference is evidently to close hand-to-hand
fighting.]

121. kennadeu agheu, cf. H 38. 21–22, kyn dyuot kyunod ny
kyfnerthrwyt. | *kennadeu agheu* yn gyuarwyt, i.e. Death sending his
messengers about us, as guides, to lead us to his throne.

   dychyferwyd, not *cyuarwyt* 'guide' as in the line quoted above,
but with *w* for *f*; cf. RP 1049. 39, Arth or deheu. kyuyt ynteu. *dychyu-*
eruyd | lloegyrwys lledi. afriuedi. o bowyssyd. Here the rhyme proves
that -*fydd* is the last syllable, not -*wydd*, cf. also RP 1056. 6, *dychyu-*
eruyd trwch *a* thrin. Is it the same *a* here as that which precedes
lliaws in l. 120? The messengers of Death will be seeking out many
of the wounded before the end of the battle.

122. calaned, pl. of *celain*, see CA 132. Note the old constr. by
which the subject is lenited following its verb in the pl.

   hennydd. See note to l. 114. The press of battle will be so great that
there will be no room for the dead to fall, and they will be holding
each other up. The line is repeated, l. 187 below.

123. dialawr, 'will be avenged'. In the manuscript there are marks of
transposition before the *y* of *y treth* and at the end of the word. If we
read as so directed, the line would be *Ef dialawr ar gwerth y treth*

beunyd. Evidently the lenition was not shown in the original, and we
may read *arwerth y dreth* (see G 43 for *arwerthu*). In the great battle
to come, the revenge inflicted upon the enemy will be an adequate
repayment for the tribute that was imposed, for the frequent expedi-
tions into Wales to collect it, and for the host of lying tax-collectors. I
am tempted to read *ef talawr* 'there will be paid' in place of *ef dialawr*
'there will be avenged'. It may be that for the poet, *treth* made a kind
of rhyme with *gwerth*, cf. also B iv. 47, where elyrch, gwrych, gwrthrych
are rhymed. If these can be regarded as rhyming, so can *gwerth*,
treth. But *treith* also suggests itself as a possible reading (see below).
Note that in ll. 21, 72, 86 the pl. *tretheu* is used, not the sing., as here.

   treth. In old orthography this could be for *treith*, which recalls
MBr. *treiz*, for the crossing of a river or a strait. Loth, ChBr 235,
quotes *Kaer en treth* as a form dating from the year 1237 corresponding
to *Kerantreiz* in 1572, and he distinguishes between *treiz*, 'crossing',
and *traez*, MBr. for 'beach' (= W. *traeth*). He supposes that *treiz*
corresponds with W. *treth*, and that the original meaning was 'toll',
or the payment exacted for crossing. On the other hand, assuming
that *treth* in the text is in fact an older spelling for *treith*, the latter
form would then be the exact cognate of MBr. *treiz*, 'crossing', and
it is therefore worth considering whether the line may possibly
allude to the crossing of the Wye or the Severn, and the payment
which was made for this.

   gwerth. If *treith* be accepted as the reading here, it would not
necessarily follow that *gwerth* should be altered into *gweith* 'battle'.
If *gwerth* is retained, one of its meanings is 'payment', cf. DGG
xlviii. 5–8 (= GDG 67), Pell yw i'm bryd obrwyaw | Llatai drud i'w
llety draw | Na rhoi *gwerth* i wrach . . . er llateirwydd; Llanstephan
2. 226, yr *gwertheu* a gobreu (see G 670).

125. dygorfu. The *d* is a capital letter in the manuscript, as if it
denoted the beginning of a new *awdl*, but no change in the rhyme
comes until l. 127. The past tense is not suitable in a prophecy, and
therefore it is better both here and in 127 to read *dygorfi* or *dygoryw*.
If the archetype had *digorui*, it would account for either of these
readings in the orthography of BT. The pres. fut. 3 pl. of the same
verb occurs in l. 12 above. *Gorfu* is followed by *i* when it means 'it
was necessary', and the *y* (= *i*) is in fact preserved in l. 127, but not
here. If the verbal form here is in the present or the future, without *i*,
then the most likely meaning for it is that the Welsh will be wholly
united in battle—or else, that they will be unanimous in going to
battle. [It is possible to suggest a simpler meaning for *dygorfi* than
that which is here advocated by Sir Ifor, and one which will suit in
each of the three contexts in which this verb occurs in the poem: in
ll. 12, 125, 127. If we attribute to *dy(g)oruot* the same potential range

of meanings as are borne by *goruot*, i.e. 'to survive' as well as 'to conquer, to win the day' (G 425–6; GPC), etc., then the meaning 'to prevail' will give good sense in each of these instances, and I have translated accordingly. I am indebted to Professor Foster for this suggestion. Cf. *Branwen*, ed. D. S. Thomson, l. 386, where it has been shown that as a vn. *goruot* bears the meanings of both 'victory' and 'survival' simultaneously; Lat. *superesse*.] Cf. GMW 146–7; PKM 212.

trwy kyfergyr. For *trwy* in another unfamiliar construction, see 92 above and note. For *kyfergyr*, see PKM 289. The lenition here is not shown.

126. cyweir, in reference to soldiers and horses 'ready, equipped (with armour)'; of a musical instrument 'in tune'; see B iii. 55–6 on Irish *cóir* as a cognate; G 271, for the various meanings; and cf. OW *int couer*, B vi. 223–4 'in perfect order'; PKM 107, 124, 131, 269. Words synonymous in meaning are repeated in this line, as in ll. 48, 108–9.

127. dygorfu, see note to l. 125. Read *dygorfi* (cons. pres. and fut.), giving internal rhyme with *peri*. With *y* the meaning here may be that the Welsh will be compelled to give battle. [Or, that they will 'survive' to order or arrange battle once more. With *peri kat* cf. CA. l. 70, trychant *trwy beiryant en cattau*, and note, pp. 89–90.] *kat* gives internal rhyme with *gwlat* in l. 128.

128. llwyth, here 'tribe, people,' cf. Irish *lucht* (W 671). For the combination with *lliaws*, cf. BT 78. 19–20, *llwyth lliaws* anuaws eu henwerys; for other instances in which it means 'tribe', cf. BT 11. 8–10, Pan dyffo trindawt . . . llu nef ymdanaw. *llwyth* llydan attaw; 33. 17, an nothwy rac gwyth *llwyth* agh(ym)es; [cf. TYP 2 on *llethiclvyth*].

129. lluman, see note to l. 59. It is interesting to note the allusion to the standard of Dewi leading the Welsh armies [cf. Introduction, pp. xxxv–xxxvi].

130. tywyssaw, to lead the van, cf. CA 282–3.
   Gwydyl, see note to l. 10.
   llieingant. On *cant* 'circle, edge, partition', see G 109; B vi. 352–3. [?Here = 'banner'.]

131. gynhon, pl. of *gynt* cognate with Lat. *gens, gent-is* 'tribe' (cf. EL 40). It is used for the pagan peoples who harassed the Welsh (see CA 127); cf. 176, gynhon *Saesson*; 183; CA l. 197, gogyuerchi *ynhon deivyr*; B iv. 47, kad kyffylad ar *Saesson* | gwall . . . uu arvoll ar *kynhon* (vii. 26, arfoll ar *gynhon*: an allusion to the act of Gwrtheyrn in welcoming the English in the first place); Cy. ix. 165, AC 850, Cinnen a *gentilibus* iugulatur; 853, Mon uastata a *gentilibus nigris*; 866, Vrbs ebrauc uastata est id est cat *dub gint*; RBB 259 = Br. Tywys. 8, Ac y tagwyt kyngen y gan y *genedloed*. Ac y diffeithwyt Mon y gan y

kenedloed duon . . . Ac y diffeithwyt kaer efrawc ygkat *dubkynt*. For *gint* in personal names in OW, cf. LL 32, *Bledgint* (= Bleddyn(t)).
   Dulyn, cf. l. 9 above.

132. nyt ymwadant. According to D 'abnegare, renunciare'; for the first TW gives 'gwadu, ymwadu, gwrthod, gommedd' ('to deny, renounce, reject, refuse'). Although both were acquainted with the biblical meaning of the word, they retained its older one. In the text, it is emphasized that the Irish were ready to stand together with the Welsh in good faith, and to go to battle with them; that is, they would not break their agreement and turn back. Cf. the story of Gruffudd ap Cynan, for his difficulties with the Irish and the Norsemen: they betrayed him on the day of battle, because they were offered more money by the enemy (HGC 122, 144, 148).

134. pwy meint. On *pwy* with a noun 'what is? who are?' (< *$q^u ei$* = Ir. *cia*) see GMW 74–5, GOI § 466; LP § 373.
   dylyet. Emend to *o dylyet*, 'by right', taking *dylyet* in the same sense as Ir. *dliged* 'law, duty, right' (cf. 138 below, *o wir*, with the same meaning). If this is accepted, *pwy meint* is to be taken with *or wlat*.

135. herw, D, 'fugio, profugium'; on *herwa* see PKM 247; *herwr*, 'robber, outlaw'; *herwlong*, 'pirate-ship'. One meaning of *ar herw* is 'wandering'; cf. T. Parry, *Theater du Mond* Rhosier Smyth (Cardiff, 1930), 62, morvvyr . . . yn oystad megis raideisiaid beunydd *ar hervv*; 67 (a similar description of merchants) . . . ag yr ydys y' tybied nad oes dim rhagor rhvvngthynt a *hervvyr*, ond bod i *hervvaeth* ynthvvy oi bodd ai evvyllys i hunain; 99, 100. Irish *serb*, 'theft, villainy' may also be compared. We may interpret the text 'Where is their wandering?', but the line is short of syllables, and I suggest reading *eu herwi*, pl. of *erw* 'acre', here used for land in general. The first question is, 'Where is their patrimony, their homeland?' Then, 'Where are their people? From what country do they come?'
   seilyassant. D gives *sail*, 'fundamentum, solum': *seilio*, 'fundare'; i.e. 'to found'. I believe, however, that *seil-* has another meaning, cf. BT 5. 19, dan syr seint *ryseilwys*; 12. 22, Crist iessu uchel *ryseilas* trychamil blwydyned er pan yttiw ymbuched; 28. 14, Agheu *seilyawc* ym pop gwlat ys rannawc; MA² 274a, Ath folaf Duw naf . . . Pwy nith fawl . . . a ry *seilych*; 144b, Gnawd wedi ryserch *ryseiliaw* cas. *Sail* in its ordinary meaning is derived from Lat. *solea* 'sole of a shoe', but its meaning is nearer to that of Lat. *solum*, 'bottom, base, floor' (from the same root as *solea*). If it is a Celtic word, cf. the root *$st(h)el$*- that is found in Greek *stello*, 'to set, place, furnish, equip (of a ship or an army), start, set forth'; *stolos*, 'equipment, army, fleet; stalk, stem'. Perhaps there are two words, one native and the other a Latin borrowing; every example must be considered separately. Perhaps *sel* is

sometimes the correct reading, cf. CA 366, *dy sel*; HGC 110, *dygosel*. In the text, we may translate 'Where are their lands, from whence they set forth?'

136. py vro, cf. CA 19, *pa vro*, and n. Then comes *pan* 'whence' as in 135.

137. yr amser Gwrtheyrn. See Nennius, *Historia Brittonum*, chs. 32–49 for the stories that were told about Gwrtheyrn at the end of the eighth century. The exact year of the coming of the Saxons to Britain is a matter of argument: Hengist and Horsa were received by Gwrtheyrn some time in the fifth century. [On the traditions of Gwrtheyrn (Vortigern) in general, see TYP 392–6; D. W. Kirby, 'Vortigern', B xxiii. 37–59; and on Nennius' use of native sources for his account, Ifor Williams, 'Hen Chwedlau', Cymmr. Trans. 1946–7, 28–58.] Cf. l. 27 above.

138. o wir, cf. 134, 145. The meaning here is not 'truth', but 'right', i.e. 'legal right'; cf. BBC 59. 14, 62. 5, 65. 2; 66. 15, *gur oet hvnnv guir y neb ny rotes* (that is 'he would not give up his claim to anyone'); 103. 7 (in ref. to Madawg ap Maredudd of Powys), *hydir y wir ar Saesson*; LL 120 (the Privilege of Teilo), *dyuot brennhin morcannhuc y gundy teliau yn lann taf dy* (= *i*) *gunethur guir ha cyfreith*; Book of St. Chad, LL xliii, *diprotant gener tutri o guir* ('of his right'); MA² 192a. 27, *ni byt wrth wir*; 238a. 24, *Perchen gwir a thir a theyrnged*; 248b. 31, *Kedwis gwir y dir ae deyrnged*; 249b. 20, *Llwytyd gwir a thir yn y threfad*; AL i. 542, *Pwy bynnac a holho tir eglwyssic . . . agoret vyd gwir idaw pan y mynho* (but cf. LlB 130, *kany allo gwir a chyfreith kytgerdet ym pob lle, kyt kytgerdont yn vynych*). With *o*, cf. MA² 186a. 23–26, *Ny thelir o wir . . . ebediw gwr briw . . . yn dyt brwydyr rac bron y arglwyt*, 'by right'.

rantir. In the Laws 'a measure of land containing 16 acres', GMWL 257; but in general, D, 'pars haereditaria, sors'; so here 'patrimony, inheritance'—the land which is the *share* of our relatives.

an karant, see note to l. 116 above, and G 110 on *car* 'relative, friend'. These words are intended as spoken by the Irish. [But see note to *Garmawn garant*, l. 145 below.]

139. pyr < *py + yr*, see GMW § 84 (a); HGCr. 127–9.

140. reitheu, see note to l. 19.

141. ymgetwynt Gymry. *Cymry* is the subject; cf. l. 122 above for a similar lenited constr. The verb is 3 pl. in *-ynt* from *ymgadwaf*. The *ym-*, *am-* is not here reflexive in meaning, but *am* = 'about', cf. its different force in *ymladd* 'fight' and *ymladd* 'wear oneself out'. The Welsh will take take care that the *allmyn* do not escape.

ymwelant, when they and the enemy come face to face; or read

ymchwelant (cf. 177, *atchwelwynt*). In OW orthography this would have been *imguelant*, with *-gu-* for *-chw-*; cf. glosses such as *guaroimaou*; or CA l. 938, *guec guero* for *chweg chwerw*, 'bitter-sweet'. This has given rise to ambiguity, since *-gu-* can also sometimes represent *-w-*, cf. *petguar* for *pedwar*.

142. ahont, pres. subj. (as fut.) of *mynet* (GMW 133). It became superseded by *elont* from a different root.

nen. The ordinary meaning is 'roof-top', also 'head, ruler', but neither of these suits here, any more than they do in CLlH xi. 16a, Kyndylan, *kae di y nenn | Yn y daw Lloegyrwys drwy Dren* (see note). If 'head' was the original meaning, cf. *tal* in *tal-ar* and *ardal*, and the *pen* in *Penllyn, Pencoed*, and phrases such as 'y pen yma i'r wlad', 'this end of the country'. [Or *nen* may be a corruption of *men*, obl. case of *man*, 'from the place'.]

143. gwerth, as in 63, 123, 144.

144. diheu, see CA 159, 'certain'; cf. also 'di-am-*heu*', 'without doubt'. [For the form *-heu* from *geu* 'falsehood' see WG 112. 3.]

cam. Notice the rhyme with *-ant*. If *-nt* is equivalent to *-nn*, it could make 'Irish rhyme' with *-mm*: see Meyer, *Primer of Irish Metrics*, 7; [G. Murphy, *Early Irish Metrics*, 32].

145. o anawr. According to G 26, perhaps 'clod, moliant', 'fame'; I myself suggested 'cymorth, amddiffyn', 'help, defence', on the evidence of this example, see CA 118; and cf. BBC 103. 1–5, *Goduryw a glyuaw . . . Teulv madauc mad anhaur. Mal teulv. bann benlli gaur.* Not much help is given by the example in CA l. 150, *Anawr gynhoruan | huan arwyran*; or by the Breton gloss *annaor* 'quandoquidem', VVB 41. But cf. PKM 73, *Ac o nerth grym ac angerd a hut a lledrith, Gwydyon a oruu.* Would not the meaning of 'nerth, grym, angerdd', 'strength, vigour' suit equally in all these examples, with *o* in the sense of 'by means of'? (cf. *o* in *o wir*, 138 above). Is the meaning that vengeance will come by means of the 'vigour' or 'strength' of the Welsh? In the example from BBC, *anhaur* describes the military strength of the war-band of Madawg ap Maredudd. I prefer to consider the next line of the text, however, before deciding. [On the Breton gloss, see now DGVB 66, where the editor reads *ann a or* and interprets 'depuis l'heure que, dès lors que', 'since' (*a or* = OW *or* or *aur* > *o'r awr*); see also refs. there cited.]

Garmawn garant, the kinsmen (friends) of Garmawn or Carmawn. In *Y Beirniad* vi. 211, I referred to Baring-Gould and Fisher, *Welsh Saints* iii. 63, on St. Germanus. It is there maintained that there was more than one saint of that name: two in Ireland, it is said. One of them gave his name to the church of *Kilgorman*, in Wexford, and it is claimed that the harbour of Wexford, Lough *Garman*, was also

called after him; cf. RBB 326 = Br. Tywys. 150, hyt yn iwerdon . . .
ac yr tir y doethant y *lwch garmon*; HGC 120, hyt en llwch *garmawn*
en ywerdon y kerdassant, cf. Hogan, *Onomasticon* 499, loch *garman*.
O'Donovan, *Three Fragments of Annals* 218, says of *Dun Carman*,
'This was the name of an ancient seat of the kings of Leinster, the
site of which is now occupied by the town of Wexford'; 221, *Carman*
(on which see Hogan, *Onom.* 156–8). It is not for me to decide between
Carman and *Garman*, or to distinguish further between the various
saints of this name: the reference in the text is to the Irish, the men
of Dublin, and the inhabitants of Ireland. If they are *carant Garmawn*,
the Germanus referred to cannot be the saint who came from France;
he must be an Irish saint. The author of the *Armes* was a poet from
south Wales; directly across the sea from St. David's was Wexford,
and the Welsh pronunciation of the name for Wexford harbour was
Llwch *Garmawn*. To an inhabitant of Dyfed who knew of the place,
'the kinsmen of Garmawn' would have been the Irish of Leinster.
[In a review of *Armes Prydein*, Cymmr. Trans. 1956, 138–41, I
suggested alternatively that the allusion here is in fact to 'the saint from
France', the St. Germanus whom Nennius depicts as the contem-
porary and opponent of Gwrtheyrn. The passage in the poem is at
this point more likely to be expressive of the feelings of the Welsh
than of the Irish; I take it, indeed, that the Welsh are the subject of
the whole *awdl*: there can be no doubt they are the subject at least as
far back as l. 137, since it is they and not the Irish who have been 'op-
pressed since the time of Gwrtheyrn'. Since the poet evidently knew
the story of Gwrtheyrn as told by Nennius, he may be presumed to
have been also familiar with the story of the continental St. Germanus,
which in Nennius' account is closely linked with that of Gwrtheyrn.
For Nennius' treatment of the two stories, see Ifor Williams, 'Hen
Chwedlau', Cymmr. Trans. 1946–7, 44 ff.]

146. y pedeir blyned ar petwar cant (cf. RBB 257, Petwar ugeint
mlyned a whechant oed oet crist, pan vu . . .). The reference in the
text seems to be to a special year, rather than to a period of years:
at least, I for one would not feel able to date the poem 404 years
after the first coming of the English. The only native sources available
to us in which to search for a sufficiently significant date to fit the
allusion are Nennius' *Historia Brittonum* and the *Annales Cambriae*,
and the chronology of both of these is too uncertain to be of much
help. In an introductory note appended to the *Annales Cambriae*
(Cy. ix. 152) it is said that it was in the *fourth* year of the reign of
Gwrtheyrn that the Saxons came to Britain, and that this event took
place in the *four-hundredth* year of the Incarnation (in *quarto anno
regni sui saxones ad brittanniam uenerunt, Felice et Tauro consulibus,
quadringentesimo anno ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi*).

It is not worth while trying to unravel the chronological problems
raised by this statement in a brief note like this (or to discuss the con-
fusion which existed between the dates of the birth of Christ and of the
Crucifixion); it is sufficient for the present purpose to note the
occurrence of the statement in a document which originated at a
date not much later than that of the *Armes*. If the statement in the
poem is in fact derived from a similar reckoning, it must be understood
as referring to the supposed date of the coming of the Saxons. Note,
however, that the poem gives 404 years, and the introductory note to
the *Annales* gives 400 from one reckoning, and 4 from another one:
the poet may himself have been responsible for combining the two
reckonings together.

In Nennius' *Historia*, ch. 16, however, it is said that it was 405
years from the birth of Christ till the year of Patrick's coming to the
Irish (a nativitate domini usque ad adventum Patricii ad Scottos
CCCCV anni sunt)—yet another date which calls for a lengthy treatise!
405 is not the same as 404, but to anyone who has been accustomed to
trying to make sense out of the dates given by Nennius, they come to
almost the same thing. What point would there be in alluding in the
Armes to the supposed date of Patrick's coming to Ireland? This,
perhaps: it was the year when Patrick the Briton went across to the
Irish carrying the gospel of salvation. Perhaps the implication is that
the year is about to come when the debt will be repaid, when the Irish
of Ireland will come across to deliver the Britons from the oppression
of the Saxons.

Which of these two suggestions is the most likely to be true, is a
question which cannot be answered without a final explanation of
o anawr in the previous line, which would include an explanation of
talu in the same sentence (does it mean that the Saxons will have to
pay for their offences, or that the Irish will repay the Welsh for
having given them a saint?); and one must remember also the pay-
ment that is alluded to in l. 143.

147. gwallt hiryon. It was the privilege of freemen to wear their
hair long: cf. BT 41. 25, Gwenhwys *gwallt hiryon*. am gaer wyragon.
Both the old man and the youths in *Breuddwyd Maxen* wore chaplets to
hold back their hair (WM col. 181). The *Book of Leinster Táin* (ed.
Windisch, l. 2718; cf. C. O'Rahilly, *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (Dublin, 1967),
p. 204) refers to Cú Chulainn's long hair falling across his shoulders.
Clerics, on the other hand, used to shave their heads in order to be bare
in the presence of God—a sign of service, and of servitude.
    ergyr bofyd, a compound adj. from *ergyr*, 'blow', and *dofydd*,
'lord, master', cf. Cy. xlii. 275; [B xv. 198–200; TYP 33–4 on *galouyd*].
They were 'masters of blows', or 'skilful in giving blows'. [Cf. *Dofyd*
'God', l. 166 below.]

148. o dihol, mistake for *y dihol*, as in 152 below; see G 352 on *dihol, diol* 'to exile'; PKM 245, *diholedic*.

149. dybi 'will come', cf. 151, 153, and cf. *atvi* in 115.

   o Lego, see note to l. 106. The previous lines have described the help which will come from Ireland; now, the deliverers are coming *o Lego*, in 151, *o Alclut*, in 153, *o Lydaw*. But in l. 11, *Cornyw* was also named: can this be a fleet from Cornwall? So far my search has been in vain for a place-name there which could correspond with *Lego*.

   rewyd, D, 'lasciuia, lascivus', BBC 61. 7–8, guraget *revit*; RP 1337. 37, Lle *rewyd* kethlyd kathlodic (i.e. 'on heat'); BrCl. 134, Ni wybyd y tat y mab priawd; canys o deuawd yr anyueilieit y rewydant (= lasciuient); MA² 194a. 18, hyt goruynyt *rewyt* redeint; BBC 7. 5 (of a dream) ny ritreithir y *reuit* (cf. RP 1427. 23); D, Gan *rewydd* nid pell fydd rhin: Gnawd gan *rewydd* ry chwerthin. It is clear that the word usually has a pejorative meaning, but, like Engl. 'wanton' and Lat. *lascivus*, it can mean 'mocking, playful' as well sometimes. Here perhaps 'fiery, ardent' is the meaning [or 'rapacious'?].

150. rewinyawt. It may be a verb pres. indic. 3 sg. (in future sense, GMW 119) 'will destroy'; it may be used impersonally (= *gyrrawr* 'will be destroyed'; cf. note to *ef gyrhawt*, l. 28 above); or it may be a noun (cf. *molawt*) 'destruction'; see PKM 235, *rewin* < Lat. *ruīna*.

   rwyccawt. For the meaning of the verb, cf. CA 107, 131, 346. Is it possible that we should read *rwyciat* 'one who rends' here, cf. CA l. 209, pareu rynn *rwygyat*? If not, both *rewinyawt* and *rwyccawt* should be taken as fut. 3 sg.

151. Alclut, Dumbarton on the river Clyde, cf. 11 above, *Cludwys*. In AC 870, it is called *arx alt clut. Alt* would give both *allt* and *all*, and the likelihood is that the *l* here represents the old orthography for *ll*.

   drut, sometimes 'foolish', sometimes, as here, 'brave, foolhardy, reckless'.

   diweir, faithful, 'staunch'; cf. PKM 302–3; [TYP 57–62, for the triads of the Faithful (*diweir*) and Faithless (*anniweir*) Warbands]. On *gweir* see B xi. 82.

152. y dihol, 'to exile *them*', since the *y* includes both the prepn. and the infixed pron. 3 pl. (GMW 53–4 n.). If so, *virein luyd* cannot be the object, but a conventional adj. referring to Britain, cf. 169 below.

153. prydaw gyweithyd, equivalent in meaning to *mirein luyd* above, 'a splendid host'. For *prydaw* cf. 110; for *cyweithyd* 'company, host' see PKM 45, llyma *gyweithyd* yn kyuaruot ac wynt, o wyr a gwraged, G 272; B vi. 108, *coueidid*; and 157 below.

154. [y ar. When the reference is to riding on horseback, *y ar* (< *di ar*) is equivalent to *ar*; see CA 152; B xiii. 6; TYP 109, 115, for other instances of this idiom.]

   ny pheirch eu hennyd, cf. 114 above. 'They will not spare their enemies', cf. EL 44, on *parch* < Lat. *parco*. [On the spirant mutation of *p, t, c* after the neg., see GMW 62; T. J. Morgan, *Y Treigladau a'u Cystrawen* (Caerdydd, 1952), 355–6.]

155. y. To be understood as *eu*, or better still, omitted.

   ae deubyd, 'will come to them'. The *e* in *ae* is the infixed pronoun in the dative case.

156. treghis (from *tranc, trengi*) 'died'; cf. 198 below, *treinc*; CA 192; B iii. 87, heb *drang* heb *orffen*; iv. 45, *tregit* deweint, 'night comes'. As a rule it is synonymous with *marw*.

   dioes, see note to l. 29, 'they have no country'.

   eluyd. See B vi. 134 on the derivation of *elfydd* < *Albio* (also PT, notes to ii. 10 and iii. 2) [and for a similar semantic development in Irish cf. the relationship advocated by T. F. O'Rahilly between OI *iriu*, gen. *irenn* 'land' (< *Iveriju*, W. *Iwerddon*) and its doublet *Ériu* 'Ireland', *Ériu* xiv. 10, though this was queried by Bergin, *Ériu* xiv. 147 ff., 152 f.]. In BBC 103, the retinue of Madawg ap Maredudd is called *mur eluit eluan gaur*; that is, the defence of the land of Elfan (brother of Cynddylan, king of Powys)—they were like a wall to Powys. In l. 195 below, the meaning is 'earth' in the sense of 'world'.

157. dyderpi, 'will happen'. Cf. the various meanings of *daruot*, G 298.

158. a dyllid; cf. 115 above, and for the meaning, cf. Eng. 'flux'. These words should be moved to the end of the line to preserve the rhyme in *-ydd*; if they are written according to the normal orthography of the poem, read *dillyd(d)* or *dyllyd(d)*.

   angweryt. This may be the pl. of *anwaret*, a word whose meaning is somewhat ambiguous: 'sicknesses for which there is no cure, or similar dangers', seems to be a possible rendering (cf. G 32). Another possibility is to relate it to *danwaret*, 'scorn, contempt, mockery'. Or, if it represents *anwerydd*, it is a noun from *anwar*; cf. *llawenydd* from *llawen*. Yet another alternative is suggested by the occurrence of *Gweryt* as a river-name (see note to l. 174 below): if the same word is present here in *angweryt*, the meaning could be 'flood', with *an-* as an intensifying particle. [GPC renders 'pain, sorrow', and compares *anwar*, 'cruel, savage, rough'.]

159. canhwynyd, G 106, '?addurniadau, ceinion', 'adornments, treasures', but the reading is uncertain, and Lloyd-Jones suggests that it should be emended to *canhwyl(l)ydd*. This is a simple emendation, for *ll* can easily be misread as *n* in old manuscripts. But what

about the meaning? It could be either a man holding a candle, or else an uncommon pl. of *cannwyll*. This last would hardly be unnatural, since the context has reference to dishonourable burial. But some doubt is caused by the fact that *canhwynawl* is to be found as a word for 'a thoroughbred' (see D, *canhwynol, cynhwynol*, 'boneddig c. fydd Cymro fam dad, heb gaeth, heb alltud, heb ledach ynddaw . . . *Brito ingenuus, generosus, genuinus*'). In CA 1353, *canhwynawl cann*, it seems to be a word for a thoroughbred white horse, or else for a white-headed lord. Even more confusing is a reference in B viii. 228-9 to *oryeu kanhwynawl* 'canonical hours'. In Gaulish, *kantena* occurs several times for some kind of offering that was made in the Celtic temples in Gaul, and *cantuna* is found twice in inscriptions in Germany; see ACS i. 745, 755. Various meanings have been suggested for both of them: amongst others 'canteen'.

Since *dwyn* is attested as a girl's name (*Dwyn*-wen, Llan-*ddwyn*), and in the adj. *addwyn* 'pleasant, handsome'—a word which may either be derived from Lat. *dignus* 'worthy' (cf. RC xxxiii. 215, for the meaning: Kanys Duw athangosses yn *aduyn* y gymryt Meir), or be cognate with it, from the same root as Lat. *dec-et, decus*—it would be possible to derive *canhwynawl* as a compound of the prepn. *cant*-with *dwyn* (cf. *cant+dal > cynnal*), and to understand *canhwynydd* as 'beauty, adornment'. The word cannot come from Lat. *condignus* because of the -*h*- in it, in spite of the suitability of the meaning 'very worthy' for a 'Cymro *cynhwynol*' (as described by D). Perhaps the phrase *oryeu kanhwynawl* is to be explained as a mixture of *canonawl* with *canhwynawl*—two words equally familiar in the world of the nobly born.

But if *canhwynydd* contains the element *cant* 'circle, partition', cf. words like *colwyn, morwyn*, with the termination -*wyn* (from -*igno-*, -*ogno-*, LP 32). It would then be possible to explain *canhwynydd* in the text as 'courts', pl. of a noun *canhwyn 'building'. But until we can get a certain example of *canhwyn (sg.), it is safer to work on the basis of the meaning for *canhwynawl* which is best attested by the evidence.

In old orthography, there would have been a kind of internal rhyme between *aryant* and *chan(t)*-wynydd.

160. disserth. In *Y Beirniad* vi. 214, I compared OI *disert* 'a hermitage, an asylum', CIL 660, a borrowing from Lat. *desertum*, and a word which survives in Irish place-names, and in Wales as *Diserth*. It has had a parallel semantic development to the word *llan* [= 'enclosure', then 'church']. For *desertum* TW gives 'diffaith, lle ynial, disserth', 'a wilderness, a waste place, a retreat'; for *desertus* 'ynial, disserth', 'desolate, secluded'. Silvan Evans (and others) altered the word by turning it into *dyserth* (as if it had come from *dy*- and *serth*) but he retains the old meaning, and quotes Edmund Prys (Ps. 74: 14,

referring to the leviathan), I'th bobl yn fwyd dodaist efo | Wrth dreiglo yn *y ddyserth* (i.e. in the wilderness).

In the text, the wish is expressed that the enemy should have nothing but a 'bush' as a shelter, after having lost their splendid courts. It is the punishment for their bad faith.

ygwerth eu drycffyd. The Welsh of that period had no respect for the religion of the English, and St. Aldhelm, Abbot of Malmesbury, complains of this contempt. At the request of an English synod, he sent a letter to Geraint, king of the Britons of Devon and Cornwall, and to his clerics, in the year 705. He protests against the behaviour of the priests of south Wales beyond the Severn (*Demetia*) in persisting in their refusal to worship in the same church or to eat at the same table as an Englishman (see Gougaud, *Christianity in Celtic Lands*, 1932, 200-1; Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* v. 181; *Aldhelmi Opera: Monumenta Germaniae Historica* XV (Berlin, 1919), Ep. 4, pp. 482-4).

162. creu. Cf. RP 1419. 31 (in ref. to the battle of Porthaethwy), oed yng *oed angheu an kymar*: danger and death were the companions of the men of Gwynedd at that battle.

163. Kynan a Chatwaladyr, see notes to ll. 81, 89 above.
kadyr, see note to l. 81 above.

164. etmyccawr, 'will be praised' (GMW 121); i.e. Cynan and Cadwaladr (not their 'fortune'). On the verb see CA 84, 124.

hyt vrawt, cf. 192, 'till Judgement Day'; cf. the Book of St. Chad, LL xliii, *hit* (not *bit* as it is there printed) *did braut*.

ffawt ae deubyd. The clause stands in parenthesis: '(Good) fortune, success will come to them', with the infixed pronoun in the dative case.

[**165. dwys eu kussyl,** 'of profound counsel'. Cf. the similar description of Manawydan, *oet duis y cusil*, BBC 94. 10.]

166. deu orsegyn. *Sengi* is used for 'to trample under foot, to conquer completely', as in MA² 300a, aerdorf *sengi*. There is no need to emend to (*g*)*oresgyn*; *gor+se(n)gi* is itself a stronger word for complete conquest: 'to trample under foot'. [Here it may be either a noun, or a verbal form pres. indic. 3 pl. in future sense; see G 572.]

o pleit 'on the side of'; see CA 230-1 on *o bleid* and *o blegid*. With *Dofydd*, 'Lord (God)', it means 'on behalf of God, for God's sake'. For *plaid* = 'side' see PKM 184.

167. gwlat warthegyd, a compound noun 'a raider (of cattle) of a country'; cf. PT ii. 2, am wledic gweithuudic *gwarthegyd*; viii. 16, nym gorseif *gwarthegyd*; cf. *preiddiwr* (< *praidd*, 'flock').

170. deu arth, cf. 113. *Arth* is fem. except when it is used of a hero who is stubborn in battle, as in CA l. 149, *arth* en llwrw byth *hwyr e*

techei. There were wild bears in Britain until the eighth century (see *Antiquity*, March 1941, 41).

nys. The *-s* is in the dative case here as in 100, 156: daily battles (*cyfarth*, see note to l. 113) brought no shame *to them*.

[**171. derwydon.** See G 313 on *derwydd*. This may be the earliest instance in Welsh of the word *derwydd(on)*, with the possible exceptions of the following, of uncertain date, which Lloyd-Jones and GPC cite from BT: 27. 8, *derwydon* doethur. darogenwch y arthur; 32. 25, da *wn* y *derwydon*; 74. 26, Dysgogan *deruyd* (?) auu a uudyd; 47. 8, Dygwerthydyd pop vchis rac *derwydon* (where the ref. is to the 'wise men' of the East). TW and D were the first to identify the *Derwyddon* with the druids of classical sources: *derwyddon* = Druides, Sapientes, vates. A δρῦς, Quercus, vt quâ arbore nihil sacratius habebant Druides, ac yml . . .; TW '*Druides* = Doethion yr hen Gymru'. Lloyd-Jones rejects the derivation from *derw* 'oak', and that suggested by Morris-Jones from *derw* 'true', Irish *derb* (WG 224), and advocates a derivation from the prepn. *dar* (> *der*) and *gŵyd* (< *gŵyd*: *gwybot*), 'know'.]

172. Mynaw. Not the Isle of Man, but Manaw (of Gododdin) near Edinburgh; see CA xix–xx. [On the ambiguity caused by the use of this name in the early sources for two distinct places, see now K. Jackson, *The Gododdin* (Edinburgh, 1969), 69–75.]

yn eu. Read *'neu*, since it is possible for the *y* in *yn* to be lost; cf. LL 173, *nihit* = *in i hit*, '*yn ei hyd*'.

174. Gwawl, an old word for a wall or boundary; here for the Roman Wall of Hadrian across north Britain. Cf. Ir. *fál* 'fence, hedge', W 537, ACL i. 300, iii. 192, [Contrib. *F-fochraic*, 35]. Nennius, HB ch. 23, Severus . . . murum et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem Britanniae . . . deduxit, et vocatur Britannico sermone *Guaul* (some manuscripts add 'a *Penguaul*, quae villa Scottice Cenail, Anglice vero Peneltun dicitur, usque ad ostium fluminis Cluth et Cair Pentaloch, quo murus ille finitur rustico opere, Severus ille praedictus construxit'). On the two walls, Lloyd (HW 95) says 'the first, running from the Tyne to the Solway Firth, had been constructed in the time of the Emperor Hadrian; the second, connecting the Forth and the Clyde, under his successor Antoninus Pius'. The southern wall is the one most likely to have been known by this name in tenth-century Wales. For the use of the name, cf. BT 64. 23; MA² 203a, tra *gwawl*; 225b, rutlan is *gwawl*; 200a, o hir *wawl* hiraduc; RP 1271. 32, geyr *gwawl* gweilgi. All these examples carry a suggestion of the meaning 'boundary'. [One may question whether *Gwawl* is here intended to denote the southern Wall of Hadrian. The opposition in this line between *Gwawl* and *Gweryt* (the Forth) suggests rather that the northern or Antonine Wall was intended by this name.]

Gweryt, the Firth of Forth, see Cy. xxviii. 61–2; Skene, FAB i. 56, 'An old description of Scotland, written in 1165 by one familiar with Welsh names, says that the river which divides the "regna Anglorum et Scottorum et currit juxta oppidum de Strivelin" was "Scottice vocata *Froch* (Froth), Britannice *Werid*" ' (*Chronicle of the Picts and Scots*, 136); AL i. 104, Ac odhena e lluydhaus Rud (= Run) uab Maelcun a guir Guinet kanthau ac e doethant hid e glan Guerit en e Koclet, ac ena e buant en hir en amresson pui a heley en e blaen druy *auon Guerit*.

eu hebyr. *Ebyr* is pl. of *aber*, see G 5; CLlH 116, and xi. 38b, Ny threid pyscawt yn *ebyr*.

175. llettatawt is the manuscript reading: a mistake for *llettawt* 'will spread', cf. RP 584. 42, diuanwawt gwir *lletawt* geu: 1049. 28, lloegyrwys yd aa. *lletawt* yna; 1422. 25, lliwelyd *llettawt* dy volyant; H 350. 15, molyant llew *lletawt* om banyar . . . dros dayar; BBC 25. 6, *lletaud*; 59. 14, Arth o deheubarth a dirchafuy. Ry *llettaud* y wir ew tra thir mynvy.

pennaeth. Here for 'dominion', cf. 26, 38 above.

yr Echwyd, or **Yrechwyd,** see CLlH 117; Cy. xxviii. 68–70, for the various opinions. It was the name of a district, or of a people, who were subject to Urien Rheged, and therefore it lay somewhere in the old northern kingdoms. After l. 174, one might well argue that it was the land between the Wall and the Forth. For the poet, it may not have been any more than a name for 'somewhere in the Old North'; and yet we must remember that there were only two centuries between his time and the time when the name would have held a precise geographical meaning. *Yr* may here be the article, but against this is the fact that the bards tended to dispense with the article before the names of peoples, and so it is possible that *yr-*, *er-* here is the affected form of the prepn. *ar-*, and that it means 'before, alongside of', as in *Arfon*, *Argoed*, *arfor*, *Arberth*, *Arddreiniog* (*Erddreiniog*).

[I. W. then discusses, and rejects as unacceptable in the present context, the various other meanings of *echwydd*, giving numerous examples. I omit this discussion, since these meanings and the appropriate references have been concisely listed in G, pp. 436–7, as follows: (i) noon, midday, resting-time for animals in the midday heat, cf. Br. *ec'hoaz*, which has this latter meaning; (ii) running water, waterfall, in which sense it is also used adjectivally, as equivalent to *croyw* 'fresh, clear' (of water); (iii) vb. to run, flow, etc.; (iv) as the name of a place and of its inhabitants (the meaning I. W. accepts). Sir Ifor then continues:]

Urien is called *udd* or lord of *Yr-echwydd* (*Er-echwydd*) in BT [= PT vi. 13]. According to Sir John Morris-Jones, Cy. xxviii. 68, *Yr Echwydd* corresponds with Lat. *Catarracta*, 'Thus *Udd yr Echwydd* "Lord of yr Echwydd" is parallel to *Llyw Catraeth*' when applied

to Urien. For him the meaning of *echwydd* is 'flow'; *dwfr echwydd* 'flowing water'; and, he adds, 'the prefix (*ar-*, *er-*) denotes "a district adjoining" as in *Arvon*'. I do not believe that 'flowing' is the meaning; cf. BBC 88 (in margin) *redecauc* duwyr echwit. In BBC 87. 13; BT 69. 11, *echwydd* is contrasted with *hallt* in reference to the sea; cf. also DB 55, *Hallt* uyd dwfyr y mor, *melys ac yscawn* vyd y dwfyr a hanffo o bedeir auon paradwys. The contrast intended here is not between 'flowing' and its opposite 'at peace, stagnant', for the sea is never completely at rest, but it is between *hallt* 'salt' and *echwydd*. We approach nearer to Sir John's conclusion if we take *dwfr echwydd* as 'river-water', and hence Ar-*echwydd* as synonymous with Ar-*afon*, the land alongside some famous river. If this is so, we might follow the suggestion made in the *Armes* and choose the river Tweed, leaving *Are-cluta* (= 'alongside the Clyde') to the other branch of the northern Britons. The salt taste of the Forth prevents us from making it our choice! Or one might choose the *Ouse* or the *Swale* in Yorkshire. [See now PT xlii–xliii, where Sir Ifor returned to the problem, confirmed his previous opinion that *dwfr echwydd* meant 'fresh water'—either of a river or of a lake—and gave it as his final opinion that *Yrechwydd* was Swaledale, with Catraeth (Catterick) as its chief fortress.]

[**176. attor.** Cf. ll. 68, 190, where the reference is in each case to the return of the English to their overseas home. But if *ny byd* is the correct reading, *attor* must in this case refer to a possible return of the English to Britain; cf. *Y Beirniad* vi. 212 where Sir Ifor interpreted the line in this sense 'the English will never come back (here) again'. On the analogy of ll. 68, 190 it is tempting, however, to suggest that *ny byd* is a corruption for *hu byd*, with the affirmative particle *hu(t)* (GMW 170–1), alluding to their return to the Continent.]

177. atchwelwynt. The force of the *at-* is 'back': 'they will be free to return home'.

Wydyl. The subject is lenited after a pl. verb in this constr.; cf. 141, 178.

ar eu hennyd, i.e. to their comrades, to the others. *Ar* = *at* 'to' is quite common in old texts, cf. CA 314 (l. 1040) on *ar dan*; PKM 203, where *at* in WM = *ar* in Peniarth 6; WM 227b, dos ditheu *ar* arthur.

178. rydrychafwynt, *ry*+pres. subj. 3 pl. of *drychafael*, *dyrchafael* with fut. sense 'they will rise up' [? or as optative 'may they rise up', cf. GMW 168].

179. am gwrwf, 'about the ale(feast)'. For this use of *am*, cf. CLlH 127, 146; B vi. 107 (*dam*).

twrwf. For the form see PKM 149, and cf. *cwrwf* above. The meaning is sometimes 'noise' (cf. *cynnwrf*) and sometimes 'crowd'; see B xi. 91, 145, for a full discussion of the word and of its derivation.

180. Dews, Lat. *Deus*; cf. BBC 86. 10, Nid ew ym crevis *dews* diffleis yr guneuthur amhuill, and G 323 for further refs.

rygedwys, *ry*- with the pret. 3 sg. *cadw*, which is *cedwis* (GMW 122), later *cadwodd*. The termination can never have been -*wys*, since it would not have affected the -*a*- of the stem to -*e*-, and -*ws* is not attested as an ending in this verb; see G 91.

eu ffyd, cf. 160, 168 above.

181. Iwis, cf. 108 above; H 28. 6, a gawr daer drac *iwys* (rhyming with *eglwys*, cf. B iv. 45, *ywuys*).

182. cymot Cynan. Among the old stories which have been lost there must have been one which told of a quarrel between Cynan and Cadwaladr; cf. B v. 133, pa gerddor a gan pan alwer Kynan . . . gar bron Kydwaladyr . . . pan vo'r drank druan ar Gynan ab Bran. [On this point see TYP 317–18 and nn.; Cymmr. Trans. 1956, 140. I interpret the line as expressing a wish on the part of the poet for a reconciliation between the Bretons, represented by Cynan (Meiriadoc), and the other Britons, represented by Cadwaladr (with the phrase, cf. l. 9). For the situation in Brittany at this time, see Introduction, p. xxii above: the political repercussions of the long-standing intimacy between Alan Barbetorte and Athelstan must have been well known to the poet, who nevertheless alludes twice in the poem to the men of *Llydaw* (ll. 153, 172), and evidently wished to include them in his projected pan-Celtic coalition. (CT 1. 13 *aercol ar gerdet* provides a possible analogy: here the name of Aergol Lawhir, a historical sixth-century ruler of Dyfed (EWGT 10), is perhaps used to denote his descendants in general; see the note on this line by I. Ll. Foster in Foster and Daniel, *Prehistoric and Early Wales* (1965), 229.) It may be noted that the reference quoted above by Sir Ifor from B v. 133 is in fact to a different Cynan: Cynan ap Bran Galed, on whom see TYP 286; EWGT 90, no. 23.]

184. namyn; with the form cf. l. 74 above [GMW 232–3].

cyfnewitwyr, 'merchants', see G 212; here used disparagingly, 'chapmen, hucksters'.

185. eil Kymro, the sons or posterity of the Welsh; on *eil* cf. PKM 213, CA 171, 256, [TYP 497].

186. am is to be taken with *llawen* in 185.

cymwyeit. Not a place-name, as is suggested in G 241, but pl. of the noun *kymwyat* in the sense of 'afflictor, tormentor'. The Welsh people will be joyful at seeing the afflictors of Britain lying dead as far as the port of Sandwich.

heit a deruyd, a phrase in parenthesis, describing the English— they are a swarm that will cease to be, pass away. For *heit* 'swarm', used both of bees and of men, see CA 243; CLlH 132.

187. pan safhwynt, a repetition of l. 122.

188. Aber Santwic, i.e. Sandwich in Kent, a busy port at that time; cf. the allusions in MHB, e.g. *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* 851, 'king Aethelstan and Ealchere the ealdorman fought on shipboard, and slew a great number of the enemy at Sandwich (*Sondwic*) in Kent. And took nine ships, and put the others to flight.' For further refs. to the importance of the port of Sandwich in early times, see *Y Beirniad* vi. 136.

    swynedic. D gives *swyno* = incantare, benedicere; excusare; cf. also Prydydd y Moch (H 281, 8), Duw o nef ath *swynas* 'benedixit'. Here it is the poet's exclamation of joy 'May it be blessed' [i.e. the port of Sandwich, because it will be the port from which the enemy will be evacuated? Or *swynedic vyd* 'it will be brought about', comparing PKM 283, where I. W. establishes for *swyno* the alternative meaning *creu, ffurfio* 'create'.]

189. ar gychwyn, see CA 167. Here 'starting', cf. H 285. 29–30, Gnawd oe law y lavur cochwet. y *gychwyn* allmyn alltudet (Prydydd y Moch). This is certainly an echo of the *Armes*, as is RP 1051. 22, allmyn *ar gychwyn* gochwed dyghet breoled dachwed gyrded gerthet.

    alltudyd, cf. alltud*ed(d)* in 43 above. There are derivative nouns both in *-ydd* (cf. llawen*ydd*) and in *-edd*.

190. ol wrth ol 'one after another', since *ôl* is used for tracks, footmarks.

192. gwenerawl, cf. RP 1146. 11, Donyawc didrist grist groes rınnwedawl. didlawt yn gwarawt dyd *gwenerawl* (= H 322. 7–8). According to Gwenogvryn Evans (BT 86), it is a borrowing from Lat. *venerābilis*: this would give good sense in the example quoted from RP above, but there may also be an allusion to Dydd *Gwener* y Groglith (Good Friday). Here it is simply a eulogistic epithet applied to the Welsh. The photograph in the facsimile shows a dot under the first *w*; if this is intentional, we must read *generawl* < Lat. *generalis*, and the poet would be alluding to the Welsh *in general*, 'all the Welsh'. If we take the correct reading to be *generawt* < Lat. *generatio* ('race, kind, generation', Baxter-Johnson), it would provide a parallel with l. 185, *eil Kymro*, and it would also give internal rhyme with *vrawt*. [See G 659, where Lloyd-Jones advocates the meaning 'religious, devout', originally in the sense of 'honouring Friday' (*dydd Gwener*).]

    hyt vrawt goruyd. The Welsh nation will be victorious for ever—taking *Kymry* together with *generawt* (-*awl*), as the subject of the verb.

193. na cheisswynt, either a wish or a command: 'Let them not seek' or 'May they not seek'.

    llyfrawr, pl. of *llyfr*, or else a borrowing from Lat. *librarius*. In B xi. 137–8, Thomas Jones showed that the Latin word was used not

only for one who copied books, but also for a magician or enchanter. This meaning would suit admirably here. [See p. xxvi above, note.]

194. Arymes. For the meaning of the word, see Introduction, pp. xlv–xlix. [Professor Jarman suggests (*Llên Cymru* iv. 58) that this line was originally the last line in the poem, and that what follows is an addition.]

195. iolwn i ri, see D, '*ioli* est *gweddio* ait Ll. (W. Llyn), *adolwg* ait G. T. (Gwilym Tew) *diolch* ait T. W. (T. Williams)', and he adds, 'Quae omnia videtur significare'. Here 'Let us beseech God . . .' and the prayer follows in 196, 'May Dewi be the leader of our warriors!' *Eiriol, eiryawl* (105) is a compound of the same word. [On the verb *ioli* 'to pray, to seek' see PT 24–5.]

    eluyd, see note to l. 156. Here it is used for the whole world.

196. Dewi. Cf. ll. 51, 105, 129, 196.

    yr. It is preferable to read *y'n* 'to our'.

197. yn yr yg, 'in straits' (*yng*). Read *yn yg*.

    Gelli Kaer. This is very probably an allusion to *Gelli Gaer*, the fortress in Glamorgan. According to T. Morgan, *Glamorganshire Place Names* (Newport, Mon., 1901) the place derived its name from the castle which was built beside the village in 1140; but cf. Caernarvon—a fortress which is older than Edward I's castle. For the form, cf. *Gelliwig* in one word: *Gelli Gaer* in two. [In his review, *Llên Cymru* iv. 55–8, Professor A. O. H. Jarman points out the improbability of the allusion here being to a place which was outside the borders of Hywel Dda's dominions (see note to l. 99 above), and suggests that the original reading was *Celi Caer*, 'the fortress of Heaven', and that a copyist (falsely attempting to modernize) turned the original *l* into *ll*. For a parallel expression, cf. BT 54. 15, *nef kaereu*. I have accepted this suggestion, and translated accordingly.]

198. ardispyd, see G 37, '? gwanhau; ? diflannu, cilio' ('weaken; vanish, retreat'). This is the only example G gives of the compound, but cf. G 372, *dispydu*, 'to exhaust, empty, release'. D connects the word with *hysb*, forming from it *dyhysbyddu*, 'euacuare . . . exhaurire'; LlO 84, 85, *dihysbydd* and *disbyddu*; LBS iv. 425. 4; BD 103. In spoken Welsh one hears '*sbydu*. The meaning in the text is 'He will not flee, retreat'. Cf. Pen. 53, 3, naw fynnon a a *yn ispydd*.

199. gwellyc, D *gwellygiaw*, 'facere vt defectum patiatur, parui æstimare, deficere'; LlA 54, Am *wellygyaw* ohonunt . . . ac am *wellygyaw* ohonunt kyffessu y pechodeu (= 212, quia . . . neglexerunt . . . quia hic peccata confiteri *despexerunt*); 64, *buched* Iessu. ac yn hwnnw megys ymywn llyuyr y darlle pawb beth a *wellygyassant* (= 220, *neglexerunt*); TW *negligo*, esgeuluso, . . . gwallygu, diddarbodi;

AL ii. 114, ny dylyir dirwyaw nep ymywn lluyd rac *gwellygyaw* gwassanaeth y arglwyd neu y lesteiraw; BBC 86. 3 (a prayer to God), nam *gwellic ymplic* im ple(i)d dirad. Nam *gollug* oth law . . . Nam *ellug* gan llu du digarad; MA² 190a. 14; 201a. 17, *gwellygyaw* uyg kert yw uyg koti; 211b. 42; 226a. 47, b. 12. In the text 'He will not cast us away scornfully' or the like.

plyc, cf. H 77. 20, doeth i lwyth hwva pla *plyc* | Oed *plyc* dwyn terrwyn yn y tyrrei bobyl; 246, kyn *plyc* mab meuryc (in elegy to Rhys ap Meuryg); 249. 15, Marwnad heb *plyc* hirddryc hart bellach a (a)llaf oe gert; 257, yd *blygyad* kymry. **Ny phlyc** is to continue the same, without wavering in one direction or the other.

ny chryd, from *cryddu*, G 182, 'lleihau, crebychu', 'lessen, shrivel'; GPC 'to shrink, lessen, waste away, pine'. Hengwrt MSS. ii. 245, Ar gwyal hynny . . . heb na thyfu na *chrydu* mwy no hynny na symutaw dim or un anssawd; RC xxxvii. 299, on Ir. *creadhbh*, 'contraction'; Dinneen, 'a gnawing, a shrinking, withering'. Br. *crezz*, 'miserly'; *crezni*, 'miserliness' may be compared; cf. W. *crinwas* for a miser; and *Y Seint Greal* (Hengwrt MSS. i) 174. 21–4, (Arthur) nyt oes gennyfi chweith ewyllys y wneuthur da na ehalaethder . . . namyn vy medwl yssyd wedi trossi ar wander a *chrydder* callon, ac am hynny y colleis vy marchogyon; DB 49, dan chwerthin a *chrydu* eu gwefleu (Lat. rictus contrahit). Cf. BT 21. 24, (afon) gogwn pan *wesgryd*. Used in the text of God, who remains the same: 'He does not diminish.' He is unchangeable.

VOCABULARY

THE word-order in the vocabulary follows that of the roman alphabet, *except* that (i) C and K are not distinguished, and are listed together under C, (ii) consonantal *u* is listed under *f*, and (iii) medial or final *t* = *d* is entered as if it were *d*, e.g. *kat* (= *cad*) below. Mutated initial consonants have been restored to the radical. Nouns are normally entered under the singular, and the plural follows (even when the pl. form alone occurs in the text); verbs are entered under the verb-noun; and the pronominal forms of the prepositions under the simple preposition. The orthography reproduces that of the text in every particular, except that where *d* in the manuscript represents the voiced spirant, the letter *b* has been employed in the vocabulary. It is a characteristic of the poem that a large number of verbal forms in the pres. indic. and pres. subj. are used with a future meaning: it is to be noted that present and future meanings of these tenses (GMW 108–9; 113) have not been distinguished in the vocabulary. Where the meanings of a word are many and various, the English equivalents selected have been limited to those which are relevant to the understanding of that word in its context. For more detailed information the student is referred to the Notes, to GMW, and to the appropriate dictionaries.

1. **a** pre-verbal particle (GMW 172) 19, etc.
2. **a** rel. particle who, which, that (GMW 60) 22, 24, 39, etc.
3. **a, ac** conj. and, 2, 3, 9, etc.; with possess. pron. 1 sg. *am* 197, 3 sg. *ae* 184 etc.
4. **a** prepn. = *o* of, from, 25 (see n.).
aber nmf. estuary, river-mouth 30; *Aber Perybon* 18, 71; *Aber Santwic* 188; pl. *ebyr* 174.
adaw vn. leave, leave behind, drop 59.
aduot vn. be, happen (GMW 145); consuet. pres., fut. 3 sg. *atvi* 115, 117, 118, 119.
adrawᵭ vn. say, narrate; pres. indic. 3 pl. *adrobynt* 97.
agarw a. fierce, cruel 59.
a(n)gawr a. greedy 193.
a(n)ghen nm. need 36.
a(n)gheu nm. death 84, 121, 144, 162.
a(n)gor nm. anchor 161, 191.
a(n)greith nf. (?) challenge, defiance 95.
angweryt n. shame (?) 158 (see n.).

alluro nm. foreigner 111.

allmon nm. foreigner; pl. *allmyn* 7 (see n.), 28, 52, 94, 106 (see n.), 142, 189.

allt nf. hill 57.

alltudeð nm. exile 28, 43, *alltudyð* 189.

am prepn. about 57, 58, 179; concerning 186; *y am* 55, 58.

amhar a. wounded, wounding; in compound *llaw amhar* 120 (see n.).

amser nm. time 13, 137.

amwyn vn. seize, fight for, etc.; pres. indic. 3 pl. *amygant* 78 (see n.).

an possess. pron. 1 pl. (GMW 53) 40, 138, 139.

anaeleu nm. grief, sorrow, affliction 37 (see n.), 72.

anawr nm. (?) strength, vigour, passion 145 (see n.).

aneir nf. infamy, slander, shame; pl. *aneireu* 53; cf. **anneiraw**.

anuonheð a. ignoble, unworthy 14, 33.

anheð nf. abode, settlement, dwelling-place 4, *yn anheð* in occupation 42.

anneiraw vn. slander, defame, bring shame upon 110 (see n.).

anoleith a. unavoidable, inescapable, certain 83.

anreith nf. booty 95.

ar prepn. on, upon (GMW 183) 65, etc.; to (GMW 187) 177.

arall a. and pron. other; pl. *ereill* 65, 85, 104.

arbet vn. spare, save, have pity for (?); pres. subj. 3 sg. *arbettwy* 116 (see n.).

arðispyðu vn. (?) be exhausted, retreat, flee; pres., fut. 3 sg. *arðispyð* 198 (see n.).

ar(y)mes nf. (Ir. *ardmes*?) prophecy, prediction, (story of) affliction, tribulation, loss 194 (see Introduction, p. xlvi).

arosceill a. or adv.? 85 (see n.).

arraeð vn. Cf. GPC *arhaeddaf* 'reach, allow; have, receive'; pres. subj. 3 sg. *arhaeðwy* 'will receive' 29 (see n.).

arth nmf. bear 113, 170.

aryant nm. silver 159.

atcor vn. return; pres. indic. 3 pl. *atcorant* 74.

atchwelu vn. return; pres. subj. 3 pl. *atchwelwynt* 177.

atpawr nm.? remnant, remainder, leavings; pl. *atporyon* 12 (see n.).

attor nm.? return 176; as adv. 'back' (again) 68 (see n.), 190.

awen nf. poetic inspiration, etc. 1 (see n.), 107.

beleu nm. ('marten'), wild beast, wolf; pl. *balaon* 60 (see n.).

beunyð adv. daily 111, 123, 170; *peunyð* 191.

blaen nm. point, van (of army) 62.

blwyðyn nf. year; pl. (with numerals) *blyneð* 146.

bot vn. be, occur, happen (GMW 136–8); pres. indic. 3 sg. *mae* 135, 136; *yssyð* (= *yssit*?) 23, rel. 197; 3 pl. *ynt* 48; consuet. pres., fut. 3 sg. *byd* 112, 172, 176, 185, 194; imper. 3 sg. *boet* 160, 161, 162, *poet* 43, 196;

imperf. 3 sg. *oeð* 22; 3 pl. *oeðyn* 62 (= *byðyn*?); pres. subj. 3 pl. *bwynt* 27.

bon nm. rear (of army) 62.

bonheð nm. (noble) descent 14 (cf. **anuonheð**).

brawt nf. Judgement Day 164, 192.

breint nm. privilege 139.

breyr nm. nobleman, lord 46 (see n.).

bro nf. dale, lowland (*supplied in* 87); land, country 136.

bryt nm. thought, intent, will 20 (see n.).

bryn nm. hill 70, 87.

bwrch nm. fortress, 'burgh' 66.

bwyt nm. food (*supplied in* 60).

byt nm. world 39; in exclam. *gwyn eu byt* 97, see **gwyn**.

byðin nf. army, host 64; pl. *byðinawr* 56, *byðinoeð* 81, 179.

kat nf. battle 82, 127, 132, *y gat* (= *yng nghad*) 150.

katuarch nm. war-horse; pl. *katueirch* 154.

cadw vn. keep; perf. 3 sg. *rygedwys* 180 (= *rygedwis*, see n.).

kadwr nm. warrior; pl. *ketwyr* 119, 154.

kadyr a. fine, brave 81, 163, 178.

cael, caffael vn. get, obtain (GMW 149); pres. indic. 3 pl. *ceffyn* 103; impers. *ceffir* 138.

caeth nm. captive, slave; pl. *keith* 34.

calleð nm. wiliness, cunning, trickery 31.

cam nm. wrong, injury 144.

canhwyll nf. candle (= hero) 88.

canhwynyð n. adornments (?) 159 (see n.).

can(t) num. a hundred 146; *canhwr* (*can*+*gwr*) a hundred men 73.

canu vn. sing; pres. indic. 3 pl. *cenyn* 90.

car nm. kinsman, relative; friend 116; pl. *karant* 138, 145.

kasnar nm. enemy; warrior 5 (see n.).

kechmyn npl. (*cach*+*mon*) wretches, scavengers 40, 184; *kychmyn* 27.

ced nf. gift; pl. *ketoeð* 'treasuries' 22 (see n.).

kedawl a. generous, splendid, noble 167.

keffyn 'though they be' 101 (see n.), 103.

keissyaw vn. seek (for); pluperf. 3 pl. *ceissyssant* 133; pres. subj. 3 pl. *ceisswynt* 193.

keithiwet nm. slavery, 'compulsion' 24 (see n.).

celein nf. corpse; pl. *calaneð* 122, 187.

kenedl nf. people, nation; pl. *kenedloeð* 136.

cennat nf. errand, expedition; pl. *cennadeu* 124; *kennadeu* messengers 121.

cerð nf. journey, wandering 111.

cerðet vn. walk, go; pres. indic. 3 sg. *cerð* 88.

kilyaw vn. retreat, flee; pres. indic. (or subj.?) 3 pl. *kilhyn* 65.

cilyð nm. (Ir. *céle*) companion, other, opponent 116 (see n.), 182.

clas nm. (monastic community), community of fellow-countrymen, people 93.

clefyt nm. sickness 158.

coet nm. wood, forest 65, 87.

cor nm. (choir), song 48 (see n.); crowd, party 109 (see n.).

corff nm. body 116.

creinyaw vn. wallow, roll, cause to fall; pres. indic. 3 pl. *creinhyn* 63.

1. creu vn. create; pret. 3 sg. *crewys* 195.

2. creu nm. blood 76, 94, 162.

cryðu vn. lessen, wither, diminish, waste away; pres. indic. 3 sg. *cryð* 199.

crynu vn. tremble; imper. *crynet* 99.

crys nm. shirt, under-garment; pl. *crysseu* 76.

kud see cw(t).

kussulwr nm. councillor; pl. *kussulwyr* 161.

custuð (*cystud*) nm. sorrow, affliction, tribulation 94.

cw(t) pron. where? whence? whither? 112 (GMW 79) (see n.), 135, 136.

cwrw(f) nm. (feast of) ale 179.

cwssyl nm. council 108, *kussyl* 165.

cwynaw vn. lament; pres. indic. 3 pl. *cwynyn* 19, 47, *cwynant* 69.

cychwyn vn. start, set out 189.

kyteir (*kyt+geir*) a. in agreement, unanimous 126.

kytffydd a. of the same faith, belief 126.

kytson a. (*kyt+son*) united in speech 126.

cyfarfod vn. meet; pres. indic. 3 pl. *kyferuydyn* 54; *kyferuyd hyn* 17.

kyfarth nm. (barking; standing at bay), battle 113 (see n.), 170.

kyfergyr nf. contention, conflict, battle 125.

cyfnewitwr nm. merchant, 'huckster', pl. *cyfnewitwyr* 184.

kyfun a. united, unanimous 61.

kyfyng a. narrow, straitened, confined 62.

kyfyrgeir (?*cyfr+geir*) geir kyfyrgeir 58 (see n.).

cy(n)ghor nm. counsel, decision 48, 109; *llaw gyghor* 68 (see llaw).

kylchyn (nm. circle), as prepn. *yn eu kylchyn* about, around (them) 15, 64.

cymot nm. concord, reconciliation 9, 182.

cymodi vn. to become reconciled, make peace; impf. (or fut.?) 3 pl. *kymodynt* 50.

cymwyat nm. afflictor, tormentor; pl. *cymwyeit* 186.

cyn prepn. before 120.

cyn(n) conj. although; *cyn ny(t)* although . . . not (GMW 235-6), *cyny bei* 'although it be not' 19.

kynheilwat nm. supporter, protector, patron; pl. *kyneilweit* 47.

kynifwr nm. warrior; pl. *kynifwyr* 183, 196.

kynnor nm. champion; pl. *cynhoryon* 101.

cynnull vn. gather; pres. indic. 3 pl. *cynnullant* 128.

kynnwys vn. welcome, receive 11 (see n.).

kynnyð nm. conquest, gain (in land) 33 (see B ii. 299).

kynt a. sooner, earlier 43; *kynt pwy kynt* 'as quickly as possible' 96 (see n.); adv. *gynt* earlier, sooner, in time past 98.

kynteð nm. upper part of hall 15 (see n.).

kynyrchyat nm. follower, client, etc.; pl. *kyneircheit* 47 (see n.), 77, *kynyrcheit* 61.

cyweir a. equipped, ready, united, unanimous 126.

cyweithyð nm. company, host 153, 157; companions 162, 178.

daly vn. hold, possess; pres. indic. 3 pl. *dalyant* 134.

daruot vn. (GMW 145-6) happen; cease; consuet. pres., fut. 3 sg. *deruyd* 171, 181, 186.

dayar nf. land 29.

dechymyd, see dychymot.

de(n)gyn a. brave, strong, stubborn, immovable, mighty (CA 91) 5; overpowering 165; immense (?) 95.

deheu nmf. the south; i.e. south Wales 78.

deig(y)r nm. tear; pl. *dagreu* 37.

derwyð nm. prophet, magician, poet ('druid'); pl. *derwyðon* 171 (see n.).

deu num. two 165-70.

dial vn. avenge; pres. indic. impers. *dialawr* 123 (GMW 121).

dianc vn. escape; pres. indic. 3 sg. *dieinc* 198.

diarchar a. brave, fearless, unconquerable 168.

dichlyn vn. chase, seek out 92 (see n.).

dichwant a. careless, of reckless, regardless 77.

difri adv. earnestly, bitterly 69.

diffroeð nm. exile, banishment; adj. homeless 44.

diffyn vn. defence 6.

digoni vn. make, do; pret. 3 pl. *digonsant* 143.

diheu a. certain, sure 144.

di(h)ol vn. exile 148, 152.

dilein vn. destruction, death 34, 42.

dillyð vn. flow, shed, pour (out); as n. 'flood' (?) 115; ? *dyllið* 'flux' 158 (see n.).

dinas nf. fortress 66.

dioes 'have' 29 (see n.), 156.

diruawr a. very great, huge, immense 56.

dirwadu vn. refuse, deny; pres. indic. 3 pl. *dirwadant* 70.

disgyn vn. (descend), attack 59, 89; pres. indic. 3 pl. *discynnyn* 16 advance (see n.); *discynnant* 73.

disserth nf. wilderness, retreat, refuge 160.

diweir a. faithful, loyal 151.

dofyb nm. master, ruler, lord; in compound *ergyr bofyb* 147 (see n.);
= God, 166.

dros (*tros*) prepn. over, across, for 93.

drut a. daring, brave, courageous, reckless 151.

drycffyb nf. (*drwg*+*ffydd*) bad faith 160.

drychafael, see dyrchafael.

du a. black 157.

dullyaw vn. array, marshal, draw up (in battle); pres. indic. 3 pl.
dullyn 61.

dwys a. deep, profound 165.

dychwel vn. return 67.

dychyuaruot vn. meet; pres. indic. 3 sg. *dychyferwyd* 121.

dychyffro vn. spring up, scatter, disperse; pres. subj. 3 sg. *dychyf-
roy* (= *dychyffrwy*) 38 (see n.).

dychymot vn. follow, produce (?); 'mean, signify' (?); pres. indic.
3 sg. *dechymyd* 35 (see n.), 36, 39, *decymyd* 37.

dychynull (*dyg*-, cf. GMW 62) vn. gather, collect; pres. indic. 3 pl.
dychynmullyn 21, *dychynullant* 72.

dychyrchu, see dygyrchu.

dyb nm. day 107.

dybaruot vn. happen; fut. 3 sg. *dyberpi* 157.

dyfal a. earnest, severe 115 (or = *dywal* 'fierce', see n.).

dyuot vn. come (GMW 133–5); pres. indic. 3 sg. *dydaw* 107 (GMW
136, n. 5), 3 pl. *deuant* 81; consuet. pres., fut. 3 sg. *dybyd* 148,
deubyd 155, 164, *dybi* 149, 151, 153, 3 pl. *dybydyn* 13; pret. 3 pl.
doethant 71, 136; pres. subj. 3 sg. *dyffo* 108, 3 pl. *dyffont* 132; past
subj. 3 sg. *dyffei* 24.

dyffryn nm. (broad) valley 70.

dygobryssyaw vn. hasten; pres. indic. 3 pl. *dygobryssyn* 1 (see n.).

dygogan, see dysgogan.

dygorfu, see dyoruot.

dygyrchu, dychyrchu vn. bring, come with, seek; perfect 3 pl.
rydygyrchassant 83; attack, make for, rush upon; pres. subj. 3 pl.
dychyrchwynt 113 (GMW 129).

dyheb nm. war, distress, wretchedness, commotion 4; (tale of)
disaster 75 (see n.).

dylyet nm. desert, legal right, claim 134.

dylyedawc a. noble, high-born, privileged 23.

dyoruot vn. (*dy*+*gorfod*) conquer, survive, win the day, prevail (see
notes to ll. 12, 125); fut. 3 pl. *dyorfyn* 12; unite in battle (?)
dygorfu (= *dygorfi*?) 125 (see n.), 127 (?; see n.).

dyrchafael, drychafael vn. arise, attack; pres. indic. 3 pl. *drych-
afant* 129; pres. subj. 3 pl. *rydrychafwynt* 82, 178.

dyrnawt nmf. blow 41.

dy(s)gogan vn. prophesy, foretell; pres. indic. 3 sg. *dygogan* 1,
dysgogan 17, 107, 171; pres. subj. pass. *dygoganher* (for *dygoganhet*?)
13 (see n.).

dywedut vn. say; pres. indic. 3 pl. *dywedant* 75.

ebryn nm. strife, ferment, agitation (?) or a. fierce (?) 101 (see n.).

etgyllaeth nm. grief, sorrow, lamentation 38.

etmygu vn. honour, praise; pres. indic. impers. *etmyccawr* 164.

ef preverb. particle (GMW 172) 28, 123, 145.

ehelaeth a. spacious, full, extensive 3.

eil nm. (other, second), son, descendant, successor 185.

eiryawl nm. intercession 105.

eisseu nm. need, want 53.

eissor nm. (similar) manner, way, nature 48.

eluyb nm. earth, land, country 156; the world 195.

emennyb nm. brain(s) 117.

eneit nmf. life 77.

erchwyn nm. (side, edge of bed, etc.), border, *fig.* defence, defender 93.

erchwynawc nm. defender 169; see erchwyn.

ergyr nm. blow 147.

escor vn. bring in, round up; pres. indic. 3 pl. *escorant* 86 (see n.).

escut a. swift, keen, ready 6.

eu possess. pron. 3 pl. 11, 14, 15, etc.

eur nm. gold 159.

ewyllis nf. will, desire 20.

ffawt nf. fate, success, good fortune 164; *vnffawt* 168.

fflet nf. (?) deceit, cunning, trickery 31, 52.

ffo nm. flight 111.

ffoi vn. flee, retreat, be put to flight; pres. indic. (or subj.?) 3 pl. *ffohyn*
66; impers. *ffohawr* 106 (GMW 121).

ffoxas npl. 'foxes' 66 (see n.).

ffraeth a. ready, swift, generous 3.

ffrwt nf. river 106.

ffyb nf. faith 168, 180.

gaflaw a. forked, split open 117 (see n.).

galw vn. call; pres. indic. impers. *galwawr* 183.

gan prepn. with, by 32, 39; pron. forms: 1 pl. *genhyn* 2, 11, 88, 102
(see n.), 131, 137.

gawr nf. battle-shout, battle (G 523–4) 57.

geir nm. word 25, 58.

geu nm. falsehood, treachery, deceit 63; a. false, deceitful 124.

1. glan a. pure, holy, fair 129.

2. glan nf. bank 55.

gobeith nm. hope 110.

goeir nm. infamy 46, 50.

gofut nm. pain, weariness, hardship, battle 6.

gofyn vn. ask; pres. indic. 3 pl. *gofynnant* 133.

gorescyn vn. take possession, conquer 14.

goruot vn. conquer, be victorious; consuet. pres., fut. 3 sg. *goruyd* 192 (GMW 146).

goruoleð nm. rejoicing 8.

gorffen vn. end, finish; *yg gorffen* 84, 95.

gorolchi vn. wash; pres. indic. 3 pl. *(g)orolchant* 76.

gorse(n)gyn nm. (?) conqueror 166 (see n.).

granwyn nm. 'white cheek', 'pale-face'; pl. *granwynyon* 62 (see n.).

gruð nf. cheek 94.

gryn(n) nm. push, thrust, fight 57.

gwae nm. woe, lamentation 90.

gwaet nm. blood 114.

gwaetlin nf. flow of blood 64 (see n.).

gwaethyl gwyr (= *gwaethlwyr*) npl. fighters, warriors 7 (see n.).

gwallt nm. hair 147.

gwaret vn. deliver; pret. 3 sg. *gwarawt* 98.

gwarth nm. disgrace, shame 155, 170.

gwarthegyð nm. cattle-raider 167.

gwascar vn. separate, scatter 120; pres. indic. 3 sg. *gwasgarawt* 7.

gwatwar nm. mockery 74.

gwedy prepn. after 4, 159.

gweðw a. widowed 118.

gwehyn vn. pour, exhaust, empty, devastate 8 (see n.).

gweilyð a. idle, riderless 118.

gwellygiaw vn. reject, cast aside, fail (?); 3 sg. *gwellyc* 199 (see n.).

gwenerawl a. believing (?) (i.e. Christian), devout (?) 192 (see n.).

gwerth nm. worth, value 143; *yg werth* 'in return for' 63, 144, 160; *ar gwerth* 'in payment' 123.

gwir nm. truth, right: *o wir* 'by right' 138 (see n.).

gwirawt nm. drink 35.

gwlat nf. land, country 42, 128, 134, 167.

gwneuthur vn. make, do (GMW 130–2); pres. fut. 3 sg. *gwna* 170, 3 pl. *gwnahawnt* 8 (GMW 120), *(g)wnant* 82; imper. 3 pl. *gwnaent* 53 (= *gwnaant*, see n.) pres. indic.; pres. subj. 3 sg. *gwnaho* 100, 102.

gwr nm. man 23; pl. *gwyr* 5, 78, 147, 151.

gwreic nf. woman, wife; pl. *gwrageð* 37, 75, 118.

gwrthod vn. refuse, repel, ward off; imper. 3 sg. *gwrthottit* 41, *gwrthodet* 52.

gwybot vn. know (GMW 147–8); pres. indic. 3 sg. *(g)wyr* 112, 3 pl. *gwdant* 84, *(g)wydynt* 30.

gwychyr a. fierce, brave, courageous 5, 147.

gwyn a. in idiom *gwyn eu byt* 'happy' 97.

gwynyeith nm. revenge, slaughter 114 (see n.).

gwywaw vn. wither, decay, fade; pres. indic. 3 sg. *gwyw* 199.

1. gynt nm. and collect. (foreign) tribe, people, nation; pl. *gynhon* 131, 176, 183.

2. gynt adv., see kynt.

gyrru vn. drive; pres. indic. 3 sg. *gyrhawt* 28 (GMW 119) (see n.).

hael (a. noble, generous), as subst. generous lord, nobleman 167.

heb prepn. without 67, 103, 117.

hebcor vn. save, avoid, dispense with 50.

heð nm. peace 2.

heit nf. swarm (of bees, men, enemies) 186 (see n.).

hennyð nm. other, friend, enemy 114 (see n.), 122, 154, 177, 187, 190.

herw nm. raid, roving; *eu herw* 135 (= *eu herwi*, see n.).

hir a. tall, long; pl. *hiryon* 147.

hoffeð nm. pride, arrogance, boasting (B ii. 39–41) 26.

hyt prepn. as far as, to 7, 96, 106, 172, 173, 174; until 143, 164, 192.

hyn demonstr. pron. neut. 23, 194, f. *hon* 194.

hynt nf. way, course, *ar hynt* 'straightway' 96.

ioli vn. pray, beseech; imper. 1 pl. *iolwn* 195.

llað vn. strike, slay; pres. indic. 3 pl. *llaðant* 79.

llafar a. loquacious, talkative 185.

llafaru vn. speak; pres. indic. 3 sg. *(l)lefeir* 23; impf. (or fut.?) 3 pl. *lleferynt* 49.

llafn nm. blade; pl. *(l)lafnawr* 57.

1. llaw nf. hand 120, 172; *llaw amhar* 'hand-wounded', i.e. wounded by hand 120 (see n.).

2. llaw a. small, low, sad; *llaw gy(n)ghor* sorrow, sad counsel 68 (see n.).

llawen a. joyful, merry 185.

llawer a. many 36.

llawn a. full 76.

lletfer a. cruel, oppressive, ferocious 38.

lleith nm. death 19, 83.

lletu vn. expand, spread; pres. indic. 3 sg. *lletawt* 175 (GMW 119).

lliaws nm. multitude, host 120; a. many 128 (GMW 102).

llieingant nm. 'linen circle', i.e. banner (?) 130.

llifeit a. sharpened 79.

llithro vn. slip, run (away); pres. indic. 3 pl. *llithryn* 68.

lloscit nm. (= *llosgyð*?) incendiary 109 (see n.).

llu nm. host, army; pl. *lluyð* 110, 120, 124, 150, 152, 163, 169.

lluman nm. banner, standard 59, 129.

llwyr adv. completely 79; *yn llwyr* 92.

llwyth nm. tribe, people 128.

llyfrawr nm. (copyist), sorcerer, magician 193 (see n.).
lly(n)ghes fleet 149, i.e. 'ships' 181.
llym a. keen, sharp 79.

mab nm. son 25, 45; pl. *meibon* 104.
mat a. good, fortunate, lucky 71.
maer nm. steward; pl. *meiryon* 18, 21, 63, 69, 100.
maes nm. plain 87.
mal conj. as, like 60, 68, 113.
maran(n)eð nm. wealth, treasure 2.
march nm. horse; pl. *meirch* 118.
mawr a. great 25, 35, 45, 74.
mawreð nm. pride 49.
mechteyrn nm. great king 18 (see n.), 100.
með nm. mead 35.
meddawt nm. intoxication 35, 102.
meðut nm. enjoyment 102.
meðyc nm. surgeon, doctor 80.
mehyn nm. place 4 (see n.).
meint nm. size, bigness; before rel. clause 'as much as, all that' (GMW 94) 103, 171; *pwy meint* 'how much?' 134.
meueð nm. wealth, possessions 2.
milwr nm. warrior; pl. *milwyr* 179.
mirein a. fine, noble, splendid 152, 169.
molawt nmf. eulogy, praise 100.
mor nm. sea 68, 161, 191.
mwyn nm. gain, wealth 80.
mynet vn. go (GMW 132–3) 44; pres. indic. 3 sg. *a* 112; pres. subj. 3 pl. *ahont* 142.
mynuer nm. diadem, crown, crowned ruler 34.
mynych a. frequent 124.
mynyð nm. mountain 113.

1. na(c) conj. nor (GMW 232) 99, 101, 193.
2. na neg. imper. (GMW 174) 99, 193.
nat neg. part., see nyt.
namyn conj. but 50, 184; prepn. but, except 74, 194.
naw num. nine 73.
neb pron. anyone; with neg. no one 29 (GMW 105–6).
nef nf. heaven 195.
nen nf. place (?) 142 (see n.).
neu conj. or 139, 140.
no conj. than 44.
ny(t) neg. part. not (GMW 173) 24, 74, etc; with inf. pron. 3 sg. *nys* 70, 3 pl. *nys* 29, 100, 156; dependent neg. na(t) 22, 25; with inf. pron. 3 sg. *nas* 49, 3 pl. *nas* 45.

o prepn. of, from 20, etc., *o . . . pan* 56, see pan; *or* with def. art. 98; *or* with demonstr. pron. (GMW 70–1) 80.
obein vn. (*ubein*) howl, wail 119.
oes nf. age 86; lifetime 156; *oes oesseu* 'for ever' 86.
ol nm. track, footstep; *ol wrth ol* 'one after another' 190.

paladyr nm. spear-shaft, support 91.
pan interrog. pron. (GMW 79–80) whence? 135, 136; conj. when 40, 93, 97, 132, 143, 187; rel. *o pan* 56.
parawt a. ready, prepared 168.
parchu vn. respect, spare (in battle); pres. indic. 3 sg. *peirch* 154.
parth nm. part, side, district 155.
petwar num. four 74, 146; f. *pedeir* 146.
peurllyn (*pefr+llyn*) nm. 'shining water' 58 (see n.).
peleitral nm. (?) spear-thrust 115 (see paladyr).
pell a. far, long 13, 27.
pen nm. head 117.
pennaeth nmf. chief, lord; lordship, dominion 3 (see n.), 26, 38, 175.
perueð nm. centre 16.
peri vn. cause, order, arrange (battle) 127.
perth nf. bush, hedge 160.
peunyð, see beunyð.
pieu 'belong' (GMW 80–1); fut. 3 sg. *pieiuyd* 173.
plannu vn. pluperf. 3 pl. *ryplanhassant* 85 (see n.).
pleit nf. party, side 166.
plygu vn. bend, waver; pres. indic. 3 sg. *plyc* 199.
pop, pob a. each, every, all 4, 30, 89, 155, 181.
pryt nm. time; *pryt na* 25 (see n.), *pryt nas* 45.
prydaw a. handsome, splendid 110, 153.
prydyð nm. poet 193.
prynu vn. buy; pluperf. 3 pl. *prynassant* 31.
pwy interrog. pron. who? (GMW 74–6); *kynt pwy kynt* 96 (see n.); *pwy meint* how much? 134.
pwyllaw vn. purpose, intend; pres. indic. impers. *pwyller* (= *-ir*) 41.
py interrog. pron. what? why? (GMW 75) 30 (see n.), 133, 136.
pyr (*py+yr*; GMW 77) why? 139, 140.

rac prepn. before, for 46, 90, 119.
racwan vn. (*rac+gwanu*) lead an attack, strike in the forefront, rush against enemy 89.
racweð nm. precedence, forefront, the van of battle 16 (see n.).
rantir nf. patrimony, inheritance 138.
reges nm. departure, retreat 43.
rei pron. some 70.
reith nf. rule, law, right, 'manner' 19 (see n.), 47; pl. *reitheu* 140.

rewinyaw vn. destroy, devastate (?); pres. indic. 3 sg. *rewinyawt* 150 (see n.).

rewyð a. high-spirited, ardent, rapacious 149.

ri nm. lord, king; God 195.

rin nf. secret 34.

ruð a. red 94.

ruthyr nm. rush, hastening 119.

rwygaw vn. rend, tear; pres. indic. 3 sg. *rwyccawt* 150.

ry perfect. part. (GMW 166–8); *rydrychafwynt* 82, 178; *rydygyrchassant* 83; *ryplanhassant* 85; *rygedwys* 180; with infixed pron. 1 pl. *ryn* (*ry'n*) 98.

ryfel nmf. war 67.

ryher 39 (? = pres. subj. impers. v. *rhe-*; see n.).

ryhyt (*ry*+*hyd*) a. 'tenacious, stubborn' 6 (see n.)

ryn a. starved, famished 104.

rysseð nm. splendour, authority, power 32.

sa(n)gi vn. tread down, trample, transgress; pluperf. 3 pl. *saghyssant* 139.

sant nm. saint; pl. *seint* 105, 139.

sathru vn. trample, oppress; pres. indic. 3 pl. *sathrant* 137.

seuyll vn. stand; pres. indic. 3 pl. *safant* 131, 142; pres. subj. 3 pl. *safhwynt* 122, 187.

seilyaw vn. found, set out (?); pluperf. 3 pl. *seilyassant* 135 (see n.).

seithweith num. (*seith*+*gweith*) seven times 143.

swynedic a. blessed, happy 188 (see n.).

synhwyr nm. wisdom, skill 92.

syrthyaw vn. fall; pres. indic. 3 pl. *syrthyn* 60; pres. subj. 3 pl. *syrthwynt* 93.

talet, talu vn. pay 103, 114; pres. indic. impers. *talhawr* 145; imperf. 3 sg. *talei* 24; pres. subj. 3 pl. *talhont* 143; past subj. 3 pl. *telhyn* 22; imper. 3 sg. *talet* 52.

tarðu vn. burst forth; imperf. subj. *tarbet* 25 (leg. *tarber*, see n.), 3 pl. imperf. indic. or fut. *terðyn* 45.

techu vn. flee; pres. indic. 3 pl. *techyn* 96.

teyrn nm. prince; pl. *teyrneð* 14, 40, 180.

tir nm. land 67.

torri vn. break; pluperf. 3 pl. *torrassant* 140.

trallawt nm. tribulation, grief 98.

trefðyn nm. home, patrimony 53.

trengi vn. die, pass away; pres. indic. 3 sg. *treinc* 198; perf. 3 sg. *ry treghis* 156.

treiglo vn. travel, wander; pres. indic. or imperf. 3 pl. *treiglynt* 30.

tres nf. uproar, disturbance (CA 308) 181.

treth nf. tax, tribute 123; pl. *tretheu* 21, 72, 84, 86.

trindawt nf. the Trinity 41, 98.

tristit (= -*yd*) nm. sorrow 39.

troet nm. foot; pl. *traet* 65.

tros, dros prepn. across 175.

trwy prepn. through, by 31, 65, 68, 92 (see n.), 105, 125, 130.

trydar nm. noise, battle (CA 146) 5.

twrw(f) nm. noise, clamour 179.

tynget nf. fate, necessity 103.

tywyll nm. darkness 88.

tywyssaw vn. lead 130.

tywyssawc nm. leader 196.

vgein num. twenty 73.

vn num. one, a single 19, 20, 47, 48, 109.

vnben nm. chieftain, lord 165; pl. *vnbyn* 3, 46, 91.

vthyr a. terrible, dreadful 119.

wrth, y wrth prepn. from, against, at, by (GMW 213–4) 62, 122; pron. form 1 pl. *y wrthym* 33.

wy(nt) indep. pron. 3 pl. they 53, 97, 173.

1. **y** def. art. 52; with prepn. *y, yr* 133.

2. **y** prepn. to 28, 51, 67; *y am* 55, 58; *y ar* 154; *y wrthym* 33 (see **wrth**).

y(d) preverb. part. (GMW 64, 141) 20, 51; *yt* 172.

1. **yng** a. narrow, straitened 32.

2. **y(n)g** nm. straits, distress 197.

ymbraw vn. contend with; pres. indic. 3 pl. *ymprofyn* 56.

ymdeith vn. travel, go; pres. indic. 3 sg. *ymda* 112.

ymðifat nm. orphan; pl. *ymðifeit* 104.

ymgadw vn. pres. indic. 3 pl. *ymgetwynt* 'guard themselves, take care' 141 (see n.).

ymorchymyn vn. commend oneself; pres. indic. 3 pl. *ymorchymynynt* 51.

ymtreulaw vn. destroy each other 55.

ymwadu vn. refuse, reject, deny; pres. indic. 3 pl. *ymwadant* 132 (see n.).

ymweled vn. come face to face, see each other; pres. indic. 3 pl. *ymwelant* 141 (? = *ymchwelant*, see n.).

ymwrthuyn vn. oppose (in battle); pres. indic. 3 pl. *ymwrthuynnyn* 20 (see n.).

ymwrthryn vn. fight, attack, charge 55.

1. **yn** prepn. in, into 5; before labials *ym* 4, 16, 30; before velars *y(n)g* 6, 22.

2. **yn** predic. part. (GMW 215–16 n., 228) 33, 42, 76, etc.

3. **yn** possess. pron. our 110.

ynys nf. island 186, 194.

yr, er prepn. for, because of, to (GMW 219) 49, 50, 110; since 137.

Aber Peryꝺon 18, 71.
Aber Santwic, Sandwich 188.
Ailego 106. Cf. Lego.
Alclut, Dumbarton 151.

Brython (pl.) 12, 42, 90.

Katwaladyr 81, 91, 163, 184.
Caer Geri, Cirencester 69.
Caer Weir, Durham (?) 7.
Caer Wynt, Winchester 96.
Cludwys, (men of) Strathclyde 11.
Cornyw, (men of) Cornwall 11.
Kymro 185.
Kymry 9, 22, 44, 46, 54, 61, 77, 82, 97, 125, 127, 141, 178, 192.
Kynan 89, 163, 182.

Danet, Thanet 31, 40, 173.
Dewi, St. David 51, 105, 129, 140, 196.
Dews, Lat. *deus* 180, Duw 51, 197.
Dofyꝺ, God 166.
Dulyn, Dublin 9, 131.
Dyfet 99, 173.

Garmawn, St. Germanus 145.
Gelli Kaer 197.
Glywyssy(n)g 99.
Gogleꝺ, gwyr G. 'Men of the North' 15.
Gwawl, the Wall (of Hadrian) 174.
Gweryt, the Firth of Forth 174.
Gwrtheyrn Gwyneꝺ, Vortigern 27, 137.
Gwy, the R. Wye 58.
Gwyꝺyl, the Irish 10, 130, 177.

He(n)gys 32.
Hors 32.

Iwerꝺon, Ireland 10, 148.
Iwys, (men of) Wessex 108, 181.

Lego (?) 149.

Lloegyr, (men of) Mercia (?) 109.
Llydaw 153, 172.

Meir, mab M. 25, 45.
Mon, Anglesey 10.
Mynaw, Manaw (of Gododdin?) 172.
Myrꝺin 17.

Prydein, Britain 152, 169, Prydeyn 105.
Prydyn, Scotland 10, 67 (= *Prydein*?); see n. to line 10.

Saesson, the English 26, 42, 54, 60, 90, 101, 133, 148, 155, 166, 176, 191; Seis 96.

Yr Echwyꝺ 175.